

# THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

## HENRY GEORGE IN ENGLAND.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE, April 13.—I had intended on the Saturday night before leaving London to go to a banquet given in honor of Mr. Frith, M. P., vice chairman of the city council, who has done a great deal of good work toward municipal self-government. But finding Mr. Saunders away and Mr. Walker in London, and not knowing I was expected, I determined to take a quiet Saturday evening loaf with my Birmingham friend, getting something to eat in the "Old Cheshire Cheese," in the same room and on the same benches where Johnson, Boswell, Goldsmith and all the rest of them used to sit and smoke the long clay pipes, which are still laid before visitors in the evening.

We set out for the Whitechapel road and walked along it. It is a different city down here to that London which most Americans know; the metropolis of almost a different nation. On a Saturday night it is very interesting. One cannot walk along the streets lined with booths without seeing evidences of the poverty of the people. There are stands and booths whose contents seem hardly worth a couple of shillings, and auction sales of second hand clothes at which pantaloons are sold for a "tanner" (sixpence), and coats for a "bob" (a shilling). The streets are crowded, and there is a good deal of jollity and drunkenness as it gets late.

I had an interesting talk the other night with some of the newspapermen whom the Whitechapel murders took into the poorest quarters of this district. They say that there is no danger of bodily harm to a visitor, but that if a well dressed man steps out of the main thoroughfare some one will quickly knock against him as if by accident, and as he turns he will find himself spinning around for a moment or two too quickly to realize what is going on. When he recovers full control of his senses he will find his pockets turned inside out and a crowd grinning at him. The women whom the newspapermen interviewed with regard to the Whitechapel murders always expected something for the interview, and one reporter had to give forty of them a banquet before he could escape. But the banquet consisted of a penny bloater, a pennyworth of bread and two pennyworth of beer—four pence each. At first the women were quite willing to be interviewed by the reporters at this rate, but as the demand increased their price rose till it got to three and four shillings. One press reporter after the last murder secured all the interviews he could use atising prices, but the more he took the

more he was beset with women who wanted to be interviewed; and when he finally shut up his note book declaring he had enough and prepared to jump into his hansom to drive away, the non-interviewed became indignant, and before he knew where he was his hat was smashed over his eyes, he was spun round, his pockets rifled and his notes torn up. He was glad enough to get away with a whole skin. The reporters say that the panic about the murders has now worn off and the women who were first so frightened make quite a joke of it. As for "Jack the Ripper," their theory is that he has been frightened away for awhile, but will again come back. The reporters say that the police have not yet had the slightest trace of him.

A notable pamphlet entitled "What is Rent? or How Should the Irish Land Question be Settled?" has been issued in Dublin by M. H. Gill & Son. It bears the initials "J. O." and its author has sufficient reasons for not further publishing his personality, at least in Ireland; but there is no objection to stating in America that these initials stand for James O'Toole. There is a little haziness in some of its conclusions, but as a whole the pamphlet is an admirable one and well calculated to do good work in Ireland. It makes a strong and clear presentation of first principles; of the equal right of all the people of Ireland to the use of the land of Ireland; of the source from which economic rent comes, and the right and duty of the state to appropriate it, and brings out strongly the fact that the effect of the establishment of peasant proprietorship would be merely the creation for a little while of a larger privileged class and would leave the Irish land question still unsettled.

Here are some extracts from the pamphlet which will give an idea of its quality:

The right to take away in taxes from those in possession of, or using the land, that addition of value which comes to it from the labors of the rest of the community, is an absolute and an evident right; but it is one that reposes inalienably in the state, and cannot, by any method, be justly acquired by individuals. This wealth is the property of the living community who produce it, and it can neither be bought nor sold. The proprietors are not a fixed body of men, but a flowing tide of humanity, whose individuals, soon after they appear, begin to produce, and, as they disappear, relinquish all terrestrial rights.

The correct and businesslike way of securing public property for public use is by a tax upon the land itself, leaving property that is made by human labor to a proportionate extent unhampered in its creation, and undiminished in its enjoyment. Such taxation, although certain to be challenged on the grounds of justice, would be simply returning to the people that increase of value in the land which results from their labor. And not only would this not be unjust, but, strictly speaking, no other taxation is justifiable until the capacity of the land to yield a rent has been pretty well exhausted. As a taxing agent the state may be likened to an individual who possesses himself of other people's property. If the individual have not the means of subsistence, and if his life in consequence be endangered, his action may be thus rendered innocent, if not praiseworthy. But if he be not in such straitened circumstances, there is no extenuation—he is a robber and a thief. And the state, in giving ground rent (the creation of all who labor or put their wealth to reproductive uses) to individuals, and then taking up private property for its own maintenance, is, as it were, guilty brigandage.

Having now seen something as to what ground rent is; that it springs from the labor of the community, and grows with the growth of the progress which that labor begets; and, moreover, that its appropriation and enjoyment by a class or section of the people is a privilege, and no matter how acquired, is unjust to the rest of the people; the true solution of the land question comes

at once into view. Let us have no privileged class. Let the state, which represents us all—I mean the Irish state of the future, which will represent us, not in theory alone, but in the fullness of a paternal responsibility—let the state resume possession of the land and lease it out to the individuals who use it. We shall then draw upon nature to supply our necessities without paying an impost to our fellow creatures. The legal right of a class to appropriate what they have done nothing to produce will disappear; and if the peasantry have to pay a tax for a privilege which they will enjoy to the exclusion of others, they will pay it, not to a small idle section, but for the maintenance of government, in the benefits of which all participate. The natural right of the whole people to use in common the available material creation will be recognized, and the mechanical and mercantile classes will enjoy collectively the wealth which is represented by the increase of value which their labors impart to the land all round them.

The Irish people, both in respect to their past history and present political and social condition, may be called an unhappy and an unfortunate nation; but as regards this all-important and universal question of land reform, there is, perhaps, no nation in the world so favorably circumstanced. The Irish landlords are now not only willing, but anxious to be bought out by somebody; and all the political parties in the empire are agreed upon the desirability of transferring Irish land from their hands to some other hands. So that in advocating the salutary transfer we in Ireland occupy the happy position of reformers who have no one opposed to them in the main principle. Our good fortune in this respect will be all the more apparent when we consider that, although the acquirement of constitutional government and the improvement of the present land system might produce effects which would be enormous temporary gains to the country, still, the just and scientific solution of the land question, which will permanently establish happy homes and a contented nation in Ireland is demonstratively none other than that which recognizes the land as the common property of every individual who is called into life in this country, and secures to each this right either by giving him the undisturbed possession of a portion subject to just taxation, or else the right to participate in the benefit of the taxes paid by those who use the land. Land nationalization is not only within our reach as a settlement of the land question, but it is far easier of achievement than the modification of landlordism, known as peasant proprietorship. Mr. Davitt and others think it the only solution that is legislatively practicable. In either case the money with which to pay off the landlords has to be provided by the state. Why should this money be used merely to transfer the land from one class to another? A tax upon the land equal to less than half the present rents would be sufficient to pay off in a short time, with interest, a loan large enough to buy out all the landlords; but it would be quite justifiable for the state to cry "hands off" to them at once, and afterward compensate them at its own convenience.

If we continue to tax property and our industries for state purposes, and set up "land owning" farmers, we shall retain in our land system all the seeds of the old evil, and we shall have landlordism growing upon us year after year, with the result to the farmers that those of them who fail in the race to become landlords will sink into insolvency with the peasant proprietors of France, or become public burdens requiring state subsidies, as they are at this moment in the Austrian empire.

As Irishmen have minds to perceive, and the spirit to hate injustice, ownership of this island by a class can be no longer tolerated than is unavoidable. In its economic effects and its logical absurdity, this principle is similar to slave holding, and both must go down alike before the advance of a Christian civilization.

Peasant proprietor means dividing among a class what belongs to all. Its establishment will rivet immovably in the minds of the people the erroneous doctrine which it embodies, and will perpetuate the injustice until with us, as with others, after years of trial and of failure, this civil sin works out its own retribution in the woes of the people. Home rule may bring us liberty, absolute as the proudest human heart can long for, and material prosperity so unheard of and unthought of, that the whole country shall become, as it were, one vast London from shore to shore; but after all this, if we retain "privilege" in our society, common wages will remain what they are now, mere charity, that depends not upon the "labor market" (for then they would almost cease to exist), but upon the benevolence or the prudence of employers; and opportunity to earn anything at all will remain for the masses what it is now, a boon to be

begged. If, in the future, as in the past and passing days of our national prostration and ruin, economic rent in this country is to go as tribute to a class, then the wealth and prosperity of a home ruled Ireland will be for the masses of our fellow countrymen what the wealth and prosperity of London is for the bulk of its citizens—a mockery.

I make these extracts because they are suggestive of the course of thought in Ireland. It is beginning to be realized by a very large portion of the national party that peasant proprietorship would afford no solution of the Irish land question, and that the only equitable way of settling it would be the taking of economic rent for public purposes. But there is not the objection to purchase at the expense of British credit that there would be if it were proposed to put the whole cost on the taxpayers of Ireland; and the idea that the land of Ireland should ultimately become the formal as well as the virtual property of the whole of the people is strong. A great deal of intelligent thought on the question is going on, but of course everything else is sunk in the desire to obtain relief from the intolerable political oppression under which Ireland is groaning.

This is coming as surely as the summer is coming, but precisely how or when it is impossible to say. There has been a wonderful change of opinion among the masses of the English people, and the ringing cheers which have greeted the name of Parnell when I have mentioned it, are, with my vivid recollection of the time when Parnell stood for everything that was bad in the estimation of the same people, almost startling. But with the support of the liberal unionists, who know that a general election would mean certain defeat for them, Lord Salisbury and his conservative government are firmly in the saddle for some time to come. They are feeling the change. And Balfour's modifications of the prison rules show that even he is yielding somewhat to it; but how they will trim their sails remains yet to be seen. Of course the great object with them is to save Irish landlordism, or so much of it as is possible—not merely for the sake of the Irish landlords and the intertwined English and Scottish interests, but for the sake of landlordism in Great Britain as well.

That some large scheme for land purchase for Ireland will be introduced at the next session of parliament there is no doubt. This will be accompanied by some sort of concession to the home rule feeling. It is not impossible that this may be large enough to win the support of Mr. Parnell, and possibly to secure the acquiescence of Mr. Gladstone.

As Gladstone proposed a large measure of land purchase in order to bribe the land interest to consent to home rule, so it may be that the tories will propose a large measure of home rule in order to obtain support for land purchase. There are so many elements in the problem that can not be calculated in advance that no one can now predict with certainty. On the one side political feeling and political policy would tend to drive the opposition to a more and more radical position as the tories advance. On the other side, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley are in favor of land purchase, and would probably be loth to go further. Of the feeling of the masses of English liberals I have no question. I have not merely tested the temper of the meetings I have addressed, but have been at some pains to make inquiries, and I am satisfied that

the mass of the party are much more radical on this point than their parliamentary leaders. They will bitterly oppose any scheme for giving British money or pledging British credit to the further buying out of Irish landlords, and not even Gladstone could lead the active men in the constituencies into the support of this. In Ireland, while there is an intense desire for anything that will bring relief, even if temporarily, the tory government is so bitterly hated that a strong prejudice would run against anything proposed by them. An intelligent and dispassionate observer writes me from Ireland:

There is no longer any enthusiasm for purchase here. The present government is so hated and mistrusted that their best attempts at land legislation would be abhorred, though of course they may use their present power to force and compel purchase.

What is of course to be hoped is that Ireland will get home rule before the tories can succeed in linking with it any large scheme for buying out the landlords. If Ireland could get home rule to-day and the settlement of the land question were left to an Irish parliament, then a strong Irish party under the leadership of Davitt would immediately appear, who would demand the restoration of the Irish land to the whole of the Irish people. And I am confident now that their ideas of method would soon, if not immediately, concentrate upon the single tax line. This the tories know and fear, and this is the reason of their opposition to home rule. Since it is evident now that home rule can be only delayed, not prevented, it is likely that they will make some strong effort to save landlordism as far as they can, while consenting to home rule.

But no matter what may be done beforehand, home rule is certain to bring up the fight, and Irish purchasers will be warned in advance that no title they may derive from the British government will do away with the power and the right of the Irish government to tax land values.

I lectured on Monday evening at Nottingham, where Charles I. unfurled the royal standard in the civil war which finally lost him his head, and where the duke of Newcastle's castle was burned by an indignant mob during the agitation that preceded the passage of the first reform bill. The meeting, which was held in the hall of the Mechanics' institute, was mainly organized by J. Roger Anderson, and the chair was taken by Alderman Croper, J. P., a prominent liberal. It was a good meeting and, I am certain, a very effective one.

After the meeting I went with Mr. Anderson and Mr. Thomas Moore to the liberal club, and met a knot of influential liberals who got to talking of local instances of the beauties of landlordism. It is this sort of thing that makes our meetings tell so strongly. Wherever we can once arouse men to the question, they have but to look around them to see the most flagrant instances of the folly and injustice of the present system. The land about Nottingham is owned, it seems, by three great landlords, the duke of Newcastle, earl Manvers and a Mrs. Gregory. The estate of the latter alone, I was told, has increased at least two million pounds in the last twenty years by the growth of Nottingham. And this notwithstanding the fact that this growth has been steadily held back by the greed of the great landholders. Mrs. Gregory's trustees, for instance, will not sell land for building purposes for less than five shillings a square yard, though they cannot let the same land for any other purposes for sixty shillings an acre. There are 4,840 square yards to the acre. The town possessed a large ancient common until some time in the first half of this century, when the duke of Newcastle appropriated it; and his

successors have since been selling and renting pieces of it out to builders as the town grew. The advance of value in this once common land has been prodigious. Land that forty years ago would not have sold for fifty pounds an acre is now worth one pound a square yard, or £4,840 an acre.

The citizens of Nottingham are bled by their landlords not only individually, but collectively as well. For instance, with the growth of the town came, naturally, an increase of the sewage. This polluted the river Trent to such a degree as to be at last unbearable. The only remedy was for the town to acquire some land on which the sewage, after proper treatment, might be spread and utilized as a fertilizer, and so some land was rented, further down the river, from the earl of Carnarvon. It was very poor land. So poor indeed that no use whatever was being made of it. His grace of Carnarvon was getting absolutely no income from it. But his grace refused to let the people of Nottingham have the use of it, even to make it fertile, unless they would agree to pay him a rent of five pounds per year per acre, which they were forced to do. Again, the needs of the town demanded a fresh water supply, and the growth of villages and the establishment of factories on the Trent above the city had made the water of the river unfit to take. So they had to get permission from the owner of a place called Papplewick to sink a well through the red sandstone that underlies this part of the island, to the clay beneath, where there is an abundant supply of water. They got a lease from him of ten acres of very poor sandy land, which for any other purpose would not have rented for £15 for the lot. But to get it they had to obligate the city to pay to him, his heirs or assigns £400 per year. In justice to the landlord it must be remembered, however, that he is not charging this four hundred a year merely for the use of ten acres of poor soil. He is charging for the water that flows beneath the red sandstone, and there is a good deal of it.

The duke of Newcastle got a good part of his land hereabouts by the simple process of fencing in a common. Earl Manvers holds some of his at an annual rent of a sixpence and a glove, payable to the queen. The liberals sitting round the big table in the Nottingham liberal club insisted that Earl Manvers does not pay the sixpence and the glove, and has not paid them for many years. How they know this I cannot tell, nor yet can I see what real difference it makes. Perhaps he has settled with her majesty in advance by giving her two or three pounds and a box of gloves all at once. At any rate, he does not fail to collect his own rents. Nor yet does he omit calling the attention of his own copyholders to the old customs on which they hold of him as he holds of the crown. At stated times the bellman comes around to warn those who are so fortunate as to hold of the earl under copyhold tenure to come and pay their suit and service to him. Precisely what this suit and service consists of I have forgotten, but it requires the personal appearance of the copyholder, and if he does not present himself, the earl has power to levy a fine that doubles every time, and which must be paid under penalty of forfeiture of the land.

These little feudal privileges may not have amounted to much in the old times; but they have proved very profitable to those who have inherited them. The legal right of the lord of the manor to the minerals beneath the surface of the commons has made many lordly incomes, and so has the right to levy small tolls

on things brought to market, which probably in the old time was some sort of compensation for keeping the roads and market places clear and free. In Bradford, for instance, the town pays the lady of the manor five thousand pounds per annum, and has agreed to pay this as long as grass grows or water runs, in commutation of the tolls she has a legal right to levy on all things sold in their markets.

As for the duke of Newcastle, when his castle was burned down because the ministry of which he was the head refused the first reform bill, he got very heavy damages from the town, enough to rebuild the castle and more. And the understanding between him and the townspeople at the time was that he *should* rebuild it. But he did not. He had too many other castles unburned to think of rebuilding that one, and so he did without the castle and kept the money, which his son in due time horse raced and gambled away. And the present duke rents out the site of the old castle—and a very picturesque site it is—to the city of Nottingham for £400 a year. And the city maintains on it a very good museum and picture gallery.

I did not meet at Nottingham my friend, Professor Symes, who has published a little text book of political economy on our lines, and has managed to do this without putting into it a single aggressive word, or one that would show, to any one who has not wit enough to see it for himself, that it teaches the single tax. He was ill and away. Although I would have liked to meet the professor again, I was not sorry for this, for the open avowal of our doctrines is, as yet, hardly conducive to security in the tenure of an English professorial chair. And Professor Symes is more likely to be useful to the cause in his chair than out of it.

From Nottingham I went to Pudsey, where I spoke on Tuesday night. Pudsey is a straggling village among other straggling villages some miles from Leeds. The getter up of this meeting was Mr. H. A. A. Dombrain, a South Australian single tax man, who has recently returned to England to be near his father in his latter years, but who purposes returning to South Australia again. Mr. Dombrain does not live at Pudsey, but at Calverley, another village some miles distant, where I went with him to see his little family and meet another South Australian single tax man, Mr. Singer.

Mr. Dombrain told me how he came to "see the cat." He was a strong conservative when he left England for Australia, some three or four years ago, and looked on me as a reckless agitator, half knave, half fool. One evening in Australia he was on top of a tram car going from Adelaide to one of the suburbs, and being in company with the son of the police magistrate of Adelaide, got into conversation about the amount of poverty and the number of the unemployed to be found even in the colonies. "I can't understand the reason," he remarked. "Do you really want to understand the reason?" said his companion. "Yes, I do," was his reply. "Very well," said the son of the police magistrate, "if you will read the book that I will send you to-morrow morning you will understand it." He got the book and read it. It was "Progress and Poverty," which elicited great applause. I was most warmly received, and for two hours the audience seemed to grow more and more enthusiastic. Among other things I told them the story of the Nigrigens colony as illustrating the British superstition that landlords are necessary and can never be dispensed with unless they are compensated. I of course told them that I was not responsible for the story, but that it had been told by our friend Thompson of the Toronto Globe, a fellow subject of theirs. When I got to

the main reasons, I was told, were that our doctrines had never been preached in this district before, and that the meeting had been organized by a stranger, the "eave-a-brick-at-im" feeling yet lingering in these villages. But though small, the audience was exceedingly attentive, and I am confident that the meeting accomplished Mr. Dombrain's purpose of starting the discussion. It is good soil, for though the Pudseyites have a name for roughness, they are a sturdy, radical set, and when they get hold of an idea hang to it with the tenacity of bull dogs.

Mr. Singer, whom I met with Mr. Dombrain, came to London to see me when I was here before. He is a devoted single tax man, and is the author of several articles on the progress of the movement in South Australia that have appeared in the Democrat and been reprinted in THE STANDARD. He is a Hungarian by birth and a chemist by profession, and is here putting up in Bradford a machine of his invention that seems destined to work a revolution in the washing of wool, the expression of oil from seeds, etc. The unwashed wool is fed in at one end of the machine and comes out dry and chemically clean at the other; and while the dirt and sand are all drawn off at the bottom, the oil, soap and chemicals are all saved and drawn off separately, the principle being that of volatilization and the utilization of differences of specific gravity. In the works where Mr. Singer is putting up this machine the cost of the soap alone used up in the present method of washing wool amounts to £250 per day.

Mr. W. P. Byles of the Bradford Observer met me at Pudsey and took me on to Bradford. I spoke there in the hall of the Mechanics' institute on the evening of the 10th. It was a striking contrast to the meeting at Pudsey on the previous evening, for the large hall was filled in every part. And in quality the meeting was as good as in quantity. It seemed as if the audience would have been glad to stay there all night. Our friends said it was the most effective meeting of any kind ever held in Bradford.

I spoke at Bolton on the evening of Thursday the 11th. This was another large meeting, much larger than when I spoke here some five years ago. In its organization it was a purely working class affair, the chairman of the committee that got it up being Mr. James Selman. The 2,000 or 3,000 people who greeted me in Temperance hall were mainly hard-headed Lancashire operatives, though in the higher priced reserved seats there were many business and professional men and mill owners, while on the platform were a large number of clergymen, and, I believe, about all of the liberal councilmen. Mr. Thomas Bromley, J. P., who took the chair at my lecture here five years ago, presided. In opening he alluded to the great advance that was noticeable since that time, when he had received many remonstrances and warnings against presiding at such a meeting. And by way of pointing the contrast between then and now, he read a letter from Canon Atkinson, regretting that he could not be present and speaking of the interest with which he had read "Progress and Poverty," which elicited great applause. I was most warmly received, and for two hours the audience seemed to grow more and more enthusiastic. Among other things I told them the story of the Nigrigens colony as illustrating the British superstition that landlords are necessary and can never be dispensed with unless they are compensated. I of course told them that I was not responsible for the story, but that it had been told by our friend Thompson of the Toronto Globe, a fellow subject of theirs. When I got to

the part where the shipwrecked emigrants, desiring to order everything on British precedents, decide that each man shall follow his pursuit at home—that the farmers shall farm, the builders shall build, the baker shall bake, the teacher shall teach the school and the clergynian shall run the church, and the landowner shall own the land, the house almost shook with the laughter. But when I got to the part where the teacher teaches and the preacher preaches against the wickedness of doing away with the landowner without full compensation, I found that there was at least some one in the audience to whom the story was familiar, as a voice from the audience called out the text, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

That THE STANDARD gets around here and there I know, for during the hand shaking that follows each meeting men ask me, "How is Post or McCready or Shearman or Croasdale or Sullivan? or by some other word or phrase show me that they are STANDARD readers.

The progress our cause has been making in Bolton since I was here last is evidenced in other ways besides the size and enthusiasm of the audience and the assurance of Mr. Bromley and others. Here, for instance, is a report from the Bolton News of a meeting that took place a few days before I spoke there:

#### THE TAXATION OF GROUND RENTS.

On Tuesday evening, under the auspices of the West Ward liberal club, Councillor R. Tootill delivered a lecture on the "Taxation of ground rents." Councillor T. W. Holden (president of the club) presided, and amongst those present were Councillors Kirkman, Anson Lomax, Holt, and Mr. T. Bromley, J. P. The chairman said that land ought to be taxed quite as much as the property that was upon it. He was a small owner of ground rents, and the subject consequently had direct personal application to him. Councillor Tootill said there could not be two opinions as to the necessity of the ground landlord bearing some share of the expense of government. It should not be left to the leaseholders and the rate payers to bear the whole cost of improvements in the land, and therefore enhance its value without any expense to the land owner. For generations past this system had been tolerated, and, as people professing radical principles, it was their bounden duty to destroy these class privileges. The ground landlord reaped the lion's share of a town's prosperity, and at the same time was totally unconcerned about anything but his values. As a case in point he mentioned that the Earl of Bradford was at present in receipt of a large number of ground rents from land which had been materially increased in value at the cost of the rate payers of this borough. Take the case of the improvement of Bradshawgate. This was done at a considerable expense to the rate payers, and yet the Earl of Bradford had done nothing to defray the cost. He contended that the ground rents belonging to such landlords should be taxed. At present land was assessed at sixty-three millions per annum and property at one hundred and thirty-one millions, showing that from the year 1815 to the present time the assessment of land had increased at the rate of 75 per cent, and houses, etc., about 725 per cent, proving that the enormous increase in local taxation had fallen chiefly upon towns, and only to a very limited extent upon landed interest. Until recent years landowners had almost the entire control of the laws of the country, and they exercised their rights for their own advantage. The value of land in London (without the houses, &c.) was about four hundred and eighteen million pounds, and the owners of the ground rents were exempt from all rates and taxes except the income tax, and the whole contribution to the expenses of government in connection with this vast wealth did not exceed five hundred thousand pounds per annum. He was convinced that this state of affairs could not continue much longer, and before another generation was past the English nation would be free from these hindrances to progressive reform. One-fifth of the taxation of this country, he contended, should be derived from the taxation of land, and town ground rents should be subject to special taxation. (Hear, hear.) Councillor Kirkman said the question of ground rents was locally a very interesting one. At present we had in Bolton about 110 miles of streets and the ground landlord never contributed a single farthing toward the maintenance of these streets. Moreover than this a great proportion of the ground owners did not reside in the town. (Hear, hear.) Mr. T. Bromley said there was no question that the land should be properly taxed, and it was a subject which should be

brought to the front at once. Mr. Holden, as illustrating the anomalies of the present system of ground rents, said that the property on one side of Oxford street was owned by Lord Bradford—or rather that it was not owned by him—but it was on his land, and within a few short years that property would become absolutely Lord Bradford's own on that account.

Last night (Friday the 12th), I spoke in Ashton-under-Lyne, in the town hall, under the auspices of the Liberal club, the Rev. Thomas Gren, M. A., the chairman of the Liberal association of the district, presiding. Before the lecture I was entertained at the Liberal club, which has a very good club house, where the active men in the liberal party meet. The hall was filled, and the meeting was virtually a gathering of the active forces of the liberals of the locality. They had tried, by inviting them, to get a lot of the tories to be present, but only a few responded. It was all the better, as had the tories come the liberals must have been crowded out, and it is just now more important to get liberals than tories into our way of thinking.

Ashton was a new place to me, but I knew not only from the meeting but from the talk at the Liberal club after the lecture, that good work was done.

The responsiveness of the audience at these meetings confirms what I have said before, that the mass of the liberal party will range itself in bitter opposition to any scheme for buying out another batch of Irish landlords, and that not even the influence of Gladstone, should he attempt it, can bring them to accept such a proposal. The liberal leaders seem to feel this. An important speech was made in St. James hall, London, this week, by Sir William Vernon Harcourt, in which he declared emphatically against the purchase scheme, not on a question of detail, but as a matter of principle. He said that he did not see why the English taxpayer should bear such an immense burden in order to bribe the Irish landlords to leave Ireland, and that a more economical plan would be to make the Irish landlords do what they ought to do in Ireland. The tories and unionists may next year, by strength of their parliamentary majority, force through another purchase bill, but the feeling and discussion it will arouse will settle the fate of British landlordism.

I wish I had more time to spend in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Everything in this most important part of the country favors the sowing of the good seed.

I leave here this morning for Workington in Cumberland, where I shall finish up my week's work. On Monday I speak in Alnwick, on Tuesday in Sunderland, on Wednesday in Consett, on Thursday in Newcastle, and on Saturday in Ashington colliery. The following week I shall enter Scotland.

In Bradford I was rejoiced to have our good friend Richard McGhee of Glasgow come to meet me. He came again to Ashton, and I close this letter in the train in which he and I are riding toward Carlisle, where I will turn off to Workington while he keeps on to Glasgow.

How our friends are in many places pushing their missionary work under cover of the liberal party and with its machinery is illustrated in a circular of the Partick (Glasgow) junior liberal association which one of our Glasgow friends has sent me. The honorary president of the association is the Right Honorable John Morley, and the list of vice-presidents is headed by the Marquis of Breadalbane, the earl of Rosebury, the earl of Aberdeen, the earl of Granville, and the earl of Spencer. But the list of weekly lectures that have been delivered under these highly "respectable" auspices during the last three months contains one on

"The land, the people and the coming struggle," by John Ferguson, the stanch and outspoken advocate of the land for all the people, and this is followed by lectures on "Mining rents and royalties," by William Simpson, on "Rural depopulation and urban congestion," by Rev. J. M. Cruickshanks, on "Social problems," by David McLardy, and on "The great land question," by James J. Jameson—all these gentlemen being thorough single taxers and active members of the Scottish land restoration society.

Thus what is going on in the United States is also going on here, and beneath the shell of an old party a new party is growing.

HENRY GEORGE.

#### SOCIALISM VS. SINGLE TAX.

Magazine writers on political economy seem to have adopted the simple rule of classifying as "socialism" everything that they had not heard of up to the time they left college. This is doubtless a very convenient method for the writer of an article, but it is apt to result in confusion of facts and arguments. This is illustrated by an exceedingly interesting article on "Socialism and English Politics" by William Clarke that appeared in the December number of the "Political Science Quarterly." At the beginning of his article Mr. Clarke defines a socialist as "one who believes that the necessary instruments of production should be held and organized by the community instead of by individuals, or groups of individuals, within or outside that community." Though this definition leaves out some things that it ought to include, it unquestionably emphasizes the one thing about which the state socialist of to-day chiefly concerns himself—the common ownership of the instruments of production. Mr. Clarke, however, having once attempted to attach a definite meaning to the term socialism, goes on to give another and quite different definition without repudiating the previous one. He says, "the socialist then, for my purpose, is one who would transfer, gradually or otherwise, by direct or indirect means, the ownership of the instruments of production (lands, mines, telegraphs, machinery, banks of issue) from individuals to the community."

This may be a very good definition for Mr. Clarke's purpose, but it differs essentially from his first, and shows a confusion of thought that ought not to receive the sanction and endorsement of the faculty of political science of Columbia college, who edit this magazine. In what school of political economy did Mr. Clarke learn that mines are something separate and apart from land? Where does he find authority for including land, the passive factor in production, among the instruments of production? Give any writer authority to arbitrarily attach such meanings as suit his purpose to words and he can prove anything. Had Mr. Clarke adhered to his first definition he would have found himself utterly unable to make good his proposition that there has been a notable growth of socialistic ideas in English politics. There is really little cause for the alarm of the ignorant and timid rich over the growth of state socialism. Outside of Germany, where they offered until recently the only rallying point for opposition to Bismarckian autocracy, the principles of Karl Marx are making little if any progress, and the disposition of some conservative writers to show the contrary, arises from just such ignorance and confusion of thought as is displayed by Mr. Clarke.

The progress of events has forced many practical men, little disposed to theorize about politics, to inquire carefully into many things that for a long time they had taken for granted. Many of these inquirers see that the individuals, or groups of individuals, who own and operate telegraphs, railways, water works, gas works, street car lines, and other enterprises, public in their character, are really using public property and governmental powers for their private profit and advantage,

and with an utter contempt for public rights. Various attempts to remedy this by legislation have been made, and there is a constantly increasing protest against the existing system; but this is not a demand that enterprises essentially individual in their initiative and private in their character shall be undertaken by the state. It is rather a demand that enterprises essentially public in their character, which cannot be carried on without the transfer of governmental powers to private individuals, shall hereafter be carried on or controlled by public authority for the public benefit. To denounce this demand as one inspired by state socialism is to confess ignorance or lack of thought. So far as it relates to railroads it is rather a return to ancient laws and customs concerning public highways than a new departure. It is time that even conservatives were coming to understand that the best safeguard against the socialistic demand that the state shall usurp the rights and functions of individuals is to put a stop to the practice that has allowed private individuals to usurp the rights and functions of the state.

Another thing that these alarmists ought to understand is that what they call "the Henry George movement" is not only not socialistic in its character and aims, but a movement antagonistic to and antagonized by the state socialists. There is no looseness of thought or ambiguity of principle in the single tax doctrine concerning questions of property. We clearly recognize the right of the individual to the products of his own labor, and with equal clearness we assert the right of the community to natural opportunities and to those values created exclusively by communal growth. Our land doctrine is as old as the pentateuch and it has the sanction of the greatest jurists, historians and economists, and the still more important authority of sound reason and common sense. It is time that those who discuss political economy and social problems, from what they imagine to be a conservative standpoint, should begin to examine their authorities more critically and to open their eyes to what is going on under their upturned noses. Such a reconsideration of things that they regarded as settled when they completed their college course will show many men that the doctrine of the common ownership of land is as old as human history, but that there has been presented of late years, in the "single tax," a feasible plan for establishing the universally admitted right to common ownership without attempting to bring about common use or the needless disturbance of existing titles. It is this movement that Mr. Clarke misapprehends and fails to differentiate from state socialism. If he and other students of the old school of political economy would but look more deeply, they would, instead of confounding single tax movement with state socialism find in it the only logical antagonist of the system of Karl Marx. The best way to check the tendency to try and remedy all wrong by state interference; an effort that finally aims to have the state assume the direction and control of industry, is to draw boldly and unmistakably the line between that which of right belongs to the community and that which properly belongs to the individual—between public rights and functions and individual rights and functions—and to insist that neither the state nor the individual shall trench on the other's province nor cross the line thus drawn. This is what the single tax will do, and when it is once established we shall hear no more of state socialism.

Mr. Clarke's article shows clearly that he sees no such dividing line since he evidently regards the municipal ownership of gas works and water works (which can only be maintained through the use of public streets) as precisely analogous to the municipal ownership of manufacturing establishments and dwelling houses. It is to this confusion of thought clearly indicated by his second definition of socialism, that he owes the only important proof that he attempts to offer in support of his declarations of the rapid growth of

socialism in English politics. His first serious attempt to offer evidence shows this. He declares that no other one thing has done so much to promote what he calls socialistic agitation as the Irish land legislation. This agitation he says is no longer confined to Ireland but it extends to Scotland and Wales where already even conservative politicians are saying that something must be done, and he predicts that it will soon extend to England. Mr. Mill's doctrine of "unearned increment" failed, Mr. Clarke says, to excite public attention in England when first given to the world, but since then scarcity of work and low wages have aroused popular interest in it and created "discontent against what is vaguely called 'landlordism.'" That this is the movement that Mr. Clarke has chiefly in mind when he talks of socialism is made manifest by the following extract from his article.

English politicians, as a rule, are comfortably ignorant of political economy; they do their work by rule of thumb. We must not expect, therefore, to find any well considered economic theory obtaining in either party, but what we do find is that the liberal party has made up its mind to tax ground rents and mineral royalties, to support the extension of municipal allotments and to apply the principles of the Irish land act in Scotland and Wales. Liberals have lost the land owning members of their party (who have become either tory or unionist) and they are now free to join in the Irish cry against "landlordism." The party has not yet made up its mind to treat land definitely as public property and to expropriate all private owners, but it is tending that way, and that is the view held by not a few of its most active workers. There can be no doubt that the writings and propaganda of Mr. Henry George produced a distinct impression on the liberals of Great Britain, though no liberal convention would yet be prepared to endorse publicly the state appropriation of competition rents.

The conservative party, too, has in its so-called tory-democratic wing adherents of these doctrines; but the party as a whole is of course less advanced. It will resist these innovations at first, and then after a severe struggle, will gradually yield and throw overboard its landlord Jonah (as it already has done in Ireland) to save its vessel from the threatening ocean of democracy. It is not difficult to see that Irish laborers may fare worse under small farmers than under large landowners—and it is certain that the mortgages of Irish land will press as heavily on the landlords as the landlords have pressed on the tenants.

After this indication that it was the land movement on which he based his theory of great socialistic activity in England, it is not at all remarkable to find in Mr. Clarke's article the admission that there are probably more than two thousand state socialists in that country, or his further declaration that the Irish people, though bitterly hostile to socialism, are really unconscious socialists. Having started out with an utter confusion of thought as to the dividing line between the state socialists and their most logical opponents it is not remarkable that Mr. Clarke's forces and their supposed effects should be so ridiculously related.

Single tax men have a right to complain of the injustice done them by such writers as Mr. Clarke. There can be no doubt that the progress of the single tax movement in this country has been retarded by its association in the public mind with state socialism and various other ill-digested schemes for righting wrongs by state interference. Our theory has only gained a place in the arena of serious and important debate through the correction of this false impression. It was its apparently hopeless defeat, which divorced it from those who had lent it their support on other grounds than a clear apprehension of its basic principles, that paved the way for its natural alliance with the free trade movement. The change of situation was similar to that indicated by Mr. Clarke in his reference to Mr. Mill's doctrine of "unearned increment." When that doctrine was put forth as a mere economic theory it excited no popular interest. When, however, other causes had compelled the English people to consider the question of taxation, the neglected doctrine of Mill became at once incorporated in popular thought and assisted in preparing the way for the speedy committal of the

liberal party to the taxation of land values. It was the tariff question that opened the way similarly for an effective single tax propaganda in this country, and the opportunity was promptly seized. Since that time our movement has steadily gained in effective strength and it is rapidly reaching a point that will make its advocates a factor in the actual work of government, instead of a body of men playing at politics. Its only present hope of ultimate success is found in its continuance on these lines, and its friends can render it no greater service than to assist in keeping it divorced from all movements that are not directly in the line of its development.

On the other hand, any one who seeks to obliterate or obscure the line that divides the single tax movement from socialism and anarchy injures our cause, and doubly injures it if his position is such as to make it seem that he has a right to speak authoritatively for the friends of the single tax. Not only is such a course impolitic in the extreme, but it is absolutely unwarranted by the facts. The socialists and anarchists are quite as ready to repudiate any sympathy with us as we are to deny any responsibility for their methods and aims, and it is the height of folly to court an unnatural and injurious alliance.

The time has come for perfect clearness of thought and plainness of speech on this subject. The single tax movement is one that aims at the reformation of society, not at its overthrow. It proposes, first, through the purification of the ballot, to help make the will of the majority once more supreme, and then to convince that majority of the justice of rendering to the public that which naturally belongs to the public, and unto the individual that which of right belongs to the individual. It is as radical a reform as was ever inaugurated, because it goes to the very root of the social question and seeks to eradicate the cause of the persistence of poverty in the midst of advancing wealth. It proposes, moreover, to accomplish this by peaceful methods, on lines already distinctly indicated in the history and legislation of our race. Its advocates do not stand ready, at the bidding of representatives of peoples who never achieved freedom for themselves, to acknowledge that liberty's long struggle to put the ballot in the hands of freemen, as the potent substitute for all other weapons, has culminated in a dreary failure of misdirected effort.

No logical believer in the orderly processes of evolution—no man who comprehends the great fact that true civilization really means the beating of swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks—can have any sympathy with those who propose to lightly throw aside the peaceful agency of the ballot and to inaugurate a new civilization by a return to barbarism. This is the aim of the great mass of those who claim the title of anarchists and socialists in this country, and so long as it is their aim, the American people are true to rational liberty and their own better natures in regarding them as public enemies, and in looking with dislike and suspicion on all who identify themselves with them.

I know that it is easy for men to point to books and papers that seem to deny this description of socialists and anarchists. Undoubtedly, in their speculative moods, they evolve very peaceful theories, but the mass of them sympathized openly with the Chicago anarchists, not because those men were probably hanged on insufficient evidence, but because they were the representatives of the policy that proposes to destroy the existing social system by dynamite. In their talk among themselves the professed anarchists and socialists, though theoretically as wide apart as the poles, habitually agree in looking to force as the remedy for whatever they regard as wrong. I know that this is true of the New York socialists, despite the occasional utterances of an opposite character by their public organs.

Of course I know that there is a school

of philosophic anarchists who fondly hope for a perfected human race that will need no other government than that of natural law and right reason. Their dream is far more pleasing to me than that of the state socialists whose aspiration is to make us a well clothed and well fed race of men subject to an almost military discipline, that will either break down utterly, leaving nothing to take its place, or else destroy individual originality and independence.

The philosophic anarchist, however, is simply a dreamer and not a factor in public affairs. The same may be said of a number of well meaning men and women who have, through the institution of so-called "national" clubs, begun to play at state socialism with a view to disguising its natural odor through the application of the rose-water of Boston culture and dilettantism. These are people whose consciences have been somewhat disturbed by the contemplation of popular discontent, but who have thus far trifled with palliatives instead of seeking remedies, and who, because of either inability or indisposition, have failed to attempt anything like robust and searching thought concerning the situation that wounds their delicate sensibilities. They find the impulse of their movement in a clever work of fiction, and, unlike healthy dreamers, who wake and know that their dreams were dreams, these people take their dreams for facts. Their movement is more interesting to the observer of the vagaries of Boston culture than to the serious student of the great problems now confronting society. No one, however, who knows the real socialist can avoid a sense of keen amusement in contemplating the inevitable feeling with which he must regard the request made by some "tenderfoot" in the faith that he shall rejoice in the patronage and assistance of the Bourgeois. Should the two elements ever come into actual contact, and the restraining hand of Boston culture be laid ever so gently on the lurid oratory and flowing locks of the genuine socialist, the outburst of wrath against this new and insidious form of "exploitation" will shock the new recruits and cover with confusion the misguided men who have attempted to bring about so unnatural an alliance.

Such attempts, however, cannot and ought not, to divert our minds from the fact that the real socialists are simply revolutionists whose aims and methods alike are hostile to ours. They know this well and they hate the single tax movement because they justly regard it as an obstacle to the success of their own. They have attempted to make Mr. George's tour in England a fiasco, and, having failed of this purpose, they have sought to belittle its success by a resort to falsehood. In England the state socialists are almost openly the allies of the tories and reactionaries, because they fear that liberal success will deprive them of a portion of their grievance against society and make the people deaf to their cry for blood. It is the duty of single tax men to recognize these facts and to treat the socialists as opponents. We have no reason to regret that this is true, and we may properly rejoice when they decorate us with their abuse and popularize us by their vituperation. We are working for the establishment by law of the single tax. Our ways are open and our purpose is definite. We must look to the ninety-nine hundredths of the American people now constituting the two great political parties for the votes that are to bring triumph to our cause. Whatever tends to bring us closer to any great body of our fellow citizens, without the surrender of principles on our part, makes for our success. Whatever segregates us from them and arouses toward us needless suspicion and hostility throws a serious obstacle in our way. Whosoever attempts to identify us with the socialists and anarchists outrages truth and strikes at our cause a blow that should only be delivered by the hand of an acknowledged enemy. There is no affiliation between us and these people. On the contrary, they are our

natural antagonists, and not merely our antagonists, but our enemies. Let us acknowledge the fact and accept the situation, comforted by the knowledge that out of it will arise a steadily growing tendency on the part of the American people to "love us for the enemies we have made," which in turn may rise to the nobler attitude of respecting us as the true champions of the principles of our own declaration of independence.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

#### SECURITY OF TITLE.

One of the objections most seriously urged against the single tax is that its adoption would destroy security of title to land, and would thus deprive society of the encouragement of improvement which is claimed as a result of private property in land to a degree unknown under any system of communal ownership.

It is unnecessary to question the correctness of this or any other claim made on behalf of private property in land. Every such claim may be admitted, provided it is made on behalf of such land ownership as now exists in the United States, and not on behalf of some ideal system which none of us know anything about. The single tax, if established in accordance with its fundamental principles and administered in good faith and common honesty, will secure to society all the benefits of private property in land under any system, and more than are gained under the present system.

Among these fundamental principles, applying equally to the tax limited to the needs of economical government and to the tax not thus limited, are these:

Nothing is to be taxed except the value of the bare land.

If land is sold for taxes, the purchaser must always pay to the defaulting owner the full value of improvements on the land.

Land is never, except perhaps during war, to be taxed literally up to its full annual value. A margin is always to be left, sufficient to make it an object for some person to collect from the land itself, or from its occupants, the natural rent, and to pay the tax to the state. No one proposes to make this margin less than ten per cent.

It will thus be seen that the holders of land under the single tax would have an assurance, which now they have not, that no improvements which they make will add to the burden of their taxation. This alone would operate as a strong inducement to hold and improve land to a greater extent than at present.

Whereas, under the present system, all improvements are made subject to the risk of being swept away by heavy taxation, this fear would be entirely removed. Even if land became so desirable, by reason of the introduction of new forms of industry, that its value exceeded the value of its improvements, as is often the case, and so the holder could not afford to pay the tax out of the income of his improvements, he would still run no risk of loss; because any bidder at the tax sale must want the land badly enough to pay for the improvements, even if he wants to clear them off the land. This would give a far greater security for such investments than any which now exists.

Finally, the margin allowed as compensation for collecting rent and paying it to the state would be sufficient, even under the "single tax unlimited," to induce men to enter into the business of land holding. It is not at all uncommon now, under our loose systems of assessment, for land and improvements to be taxed up to within a small fraction of their whole annual value. In the state of New York, for many years, the rate of taxation was fixed at six and seven per cent in some counties. The valuations were, of course, generally far below real values; but there were always exceptional cases where the tax really swallowed up nine-tenths of the rent and income. Nobody ever heard of property being abandoned for that reason. It was never

abandoned until the tax amounted to the whole income, and not often even then. How much less would it be abandoned, under a system which guaranteed to the owner absolute security for at least ten per cent of the annual value, under all circumstances, besides the full value of all improvements?

One of the cleverest illustrations of the injustice which even friends of the single tax have feared might result from its practical operation was given in what may be called the "orange tree case." Land in California has actually been used for growing orange trees, under circumstances which compelled the owner to wait for seven years, before he could pluck a single orange from his trees. Meantime population has unexpectedly crowded into the neighborhood; and the rental value, for building purposes, has immensely increased. Under the present system, this increased value is collectible by the owner, who is therefore more than compensated by the rise in land values for his loss in trees. But, under the single tax system, most, if not all of this "unearned increment" would be absorbed by taxation. The orange trees would be utterly valueless to any purchaser of the land; since he would want it for building lots, and must root up the trees. Where would be security for improvements, under the single tax, under such circumstances, especially if the tax should be purposely increased, so as to absorb the entire increase of land values?

The answer has been suggested already. The state must put up the land for sale to the person who would undertake to pay to the land owner the full market value of the trees, estimated apart from the land, and to the state the highest price for the privilege of taking the land, subject, as all land is now and would be then, to future taxation.

Undoubtedly this proposition involves many details; but the principle is simple and clear. The value of the trees would be presumed to be the cost of another seven years' planting and cultivation, upon the same land. But if it appeared that the fruit was poor, or that that kind of fruit had gone out of fashion or had become so abundant that the price had declined to such an extent as to make such trees a poor investment, the value of the trees would be greatly diminished. The price which was paid at the time of the tax sale for similar trees on other land, so far distant from the center of population as to allow of continued orange cultivation, would have an important, though not conclusive, bearing on the value of these trees. In short, their value would be ascertained in exactly the same manner in which it would to-day be ascertained, if they were insured against fire and were burned down.

It would sometimes happen that a large factory or other building would be erected in a place unsuited for its use. The owner failing to pay the tax, the land would be sold, subject to the first lien for improvements. Presumably, the land owner would be entitled to payment of the amount which it would cost to put up just such a building on that lot, if it were vacant. But if it were badly designed or ill-constructed, so that it could never justify the cost of its construction, apart from all question of land value, the owner would not be entitled to more than the value of the building for actual use.

It would not be necessary to lay down these nice distinctions in the tax law. A simple declaration, to the effect that the value of all improvements, irrespective of the land, should be allowed as a first lien, on every tax sale, would suffice. This would be interpreted by the courts, just as readily as similar provisions are in insurance policies, leases reserving the value of improvements, and the like. Doubts would be resolved in favor of the taxpayer, just as they now are in favor of the person insured.

Nor would the state suffer on this account. It would, no doubt, occasionally happen that the value of improvements would so far exceed what any one was

willing to pay for them in their precise situation, as to swallow up all the taxes for one or two years. Thus a field of orange trees, sold for building lots, might produce a tax of only \$500 per annum, even after population had begun to crowd in; while the value of the trees might be \$1,000. But, on the other hand, the taxes, when the trees were planted, would probably not have exceeded \$50; indeed, that is an extravagant estimate. Under these circumstances, the state would have to lose two years' taxes in order to pay for the improvements destroyed by the change; but its real loss would be only two years' taxes at the old rate, or \$100 in all; while it would gain \$450 in every succeeding year, by the increased land value. Even such cases would be comparatively rare. As a rule, the holders of land would be glad to pay taxes which never exceeded the rental value of the land, and which generally fell considerably below this.

Thus absolute security for full value of improvements would be combined with abundant security for the collection of taxes.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

#### Henry George's Tour of Scotland. New York Star.

LONDON, April 22.—The wonderful success which Mr. Henry George has achieved during his lecturing in England, Scotland and Wales has attracted the attention of a great many people who hitherto have given little or no attention to the land question, and his speeches have had an immense amount of influence upon the political situation. Heretofore the theories of Mr. George have been presented to the masses in Great Britain in a way calculated to expose them to ridicule; but, whether they merit it or not, they are now receiving their full share of public consideration from the point of view of knowledge and appreciation. Mr. George's tour of Scotland next week is looked forward to by the residents of the places in which he is advertised to speak with more than ordinary interest, and even the opponents of his ideas predict for him a measure of success far beyond that obtained by any politico-economic lecturer who has in many years addressed the people of that territory.

#### A Socialistic View of it.

Translation of a Letter to the New York Sozialist.

LONDON, April 4.—Although Henry George is as well as buried in America, and your readers have put him in his grave, yet it might be interesting to know what kind of a reception the ex-land prophet received here. The man is here for the second time this winter, and it is a fact that he is very much talked of person. The English liberals and radicals hail him as a Messiah. He speaks to meetings of thousands; he is given banquets, and is setting a world of fools crazy by his "smile." All the radical clubs of London fight each other about him and a few dozen members of parliament make up his constant bodyguard. A few days ago he declared himself neither a socialist nor an anarchist, but said that both are doing good in drawing attention to public wrongs and in breaking up the worst of all sentiments—contentment. The most radical men of all, he claims, are the single tax men; and the single tax is the hobby which he rides day after day, and there is no scarcity of fools, as we have said, who stare at him with wide open mouth, as if he were a world wonder. He speaks in Shoreditch town hall this evening where an entrance fee of threepence, sixpence and a shilling is to be charged. Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., did not neglect, from the parliamentary tribune, to pay his tribute of admiration to the "great reformer." Are these not peculiar symptoms of disease? I have thought about it and I have searched for the bacillus. It is the bacillus of demagogic jugglery. The disease as a rule appears to be epidemic; and according to time, place and circumstances appears under different names. Here you call it "radicalism;" in France it is called "Boulangism;" and in Germany "patriotism." And what is the cure? Yes, how can the stupidity of the masses be cured? Where is the lymph to protect the fools from the horrid pestilence or stupid prophet worship and spiritual self emasculation?

#### What the Newspapers Say.

The English press is almost unanimous in the confession that the effect of Henry George's presence in the great cities of the British empire has been marvelous, because he has made thousands of converts to his single tax doctrine, many of them great merchants, brokers and manufacturers, who have hitherto been opposed to him and his theories. —[Memphis Appeal.]

The tour of Henry George in England is an unequalled success. He is met by large audiences in every town, and is always accorded a hearty reception.—[Canadian Workman.]

Henry George, writing from England, says "Lord Duranven is evidently an energetic man, and doubtless could have made a pretty good living as a commercial traveler had the accident of birth not made him a lord." We beg to call the attention of Mr. George to the fact that Lord Duranven is making a fair living as it is, albeit the accident of birth deprived him of the inestimable privileges of an American drummer.—[St. Paul Pioneer-Press.]

#### FROM THE BRITISH PRESS.

##### Extracts that Show the Importance of the Single Tax Campaign Over There. South Wales News.

Those who heard Mr. Henry George's address last night in the Colonial hall, Cardiff, must, we think, have felt that they were listening to a speaker who had a thorough grasp of the subject which he handled, and a rare power of lucid exposition of his views. The meeting itself was highly gratifying, not merely because of the numbers present, but still more for the close attention paid to the lecturer up to the very termination of the proceedings. When it is borne in mind that no one was admitted without a ticket which had its money value, it will be all the more readily granted that the meeting was a great success. We must, however, take the liberty of expressing the wish that a meeting free to all could have been convened in a much larger hall, so that the people could have attended in mass, including the poorest of the poor who live by the labor of their hands. The address wound up rather abruptly, and the listeners looked at one another as if they were scarcely ready to come to the closing work, but a change came over their features when the "heckling" commenced. We are inclined to give the preference to this portion of the proceedings. Most of the questions were well put together, and admirably adapted to the occasion, and the replies were splendid. Some of them rose to the rank of the best oratory. We may refer, for example, to the answer given to the inquirer who asked if Mr. George expected his views to be adopted before the millennium. The lecturer was more than equal to the occasion. He replied at once that the adoption of his views would help to bring about the millennium, and he followed this up with what might be termed a sermon in miniature, glowing with the fire of the pulpit, and sparkling all over. Its impression on the audience was most marked throughout. We hope Mr. George will meet with success wherever he goes. We believe he has truth and justice on his side, and he is exactly the kind of man to bear a message, not to the ignorant and uninstructed only, but also to those who may think they have mastered a subject on which so many have have labored with scanty result.

Wandsworth and Putney observer.

London Christian Commonwealth.

Mr. Henry George, whose name has become a household word, had been induced by the Wandsworth liberal and radical club to pay a visit to this neighborhood, and Wednesday evening last, at the town hall, was fixed for the purpose. Admission was by ticket, for which payment was made, and the audience, therefore, might have been anticipated as more select than usual. But such was the desire to hear Mr. George that both the platform and the body of the large hall were filled by a gathering very much of the usual character at public meetings. Mr. George was far from disappointing expectation. He maintained with ability and force the particular opinions by which he won celebrity; but he is also an able orator, robust of physique as of style, of popular manners and address, clear and emphatic in delivery, and easy to understand; and he makes good use of a vein of sarcasm and somewhat bitter humor, which are perhaps natural to him, or in the minds of his followers arise from the subject. A considerable section of the audience was plainly devoted to his principles, and on their part he was frequently and heartily cheered.

Cork, Ireland, Eagle.

Manchester Examiner.

The English land restoration league are contemplating a demonstration in Hyde park on Sunday, May 5, and have already arranged with Mr. Henry George to give addresses from three platforms. The league, which is to hold its annual meeting on the 22d of May, intends to obtain signatures at all of Mr. George's meetings to petitions in favor of very radical changes in the land laws.

Brighton Argus.

Mr. George's propaganda is evidently gaining ground among the working classes. When he was over here last they did not pay much attention to him, but now they throng to hear him with keen interest. He is a singularly clear speaker, and has such a complete mastery over his subject that he is able to make his audience understand really difficult points in political economy.

Bradford, England, Observer.

Mr. Henry George may lay to his soul the blameless unction that he has left his mark on the thought and conscience of Bradford. That was a notable meeting in the Mechanics' institute last week. The times are stirring, and there have been more crowded gatherings in our midst of late, but none, we think, of so much intellectual force and weight of character. The audience was hard headed and serious, in some part no doubt persuaded of the lecturer's views already, but for the most part, we fancy, candidly willing to hear what he had to say, and expecting to be reasoned with on like terms. Those who came with such a mind were not disappointed.

Mr. George's powers as an expositor are remarkable. His facile and glowing literary style were known through his books, but it is seldom that an instructor so accomplished with the pen is able to leave his rhetoric at the desk and speak from the platform with that plain directness of utterance which is the best species of popular oratory. Such a diversity of gifts certainly belongs to the author of "Progress and Poverty." His discourse last night—or "talk," as his compatriots would call it—was a clear, honest argument, which wasted no words, went straight to the point, spoke the accents of a strong moral and intellectual conviction, and disarmed prejudice. These traits of the occurrence are worth noting, because we think that what may be called the psychological impressions of the lecture will produce greater results than the immediate conversions to the argument. It is doubtful, perhaps, whether a majority of the audience would yet assent to Mr. George's theory of the industrial fabric of society; still more doubtful that his practical proposals command so much acceptance. But at least every one must have gone away last night feeling that he had listened to a master of economic reform—one who had taken up his gospel with the ardor of an apostle, and studied its exegesis with a complete and fearless scrutiny. The result of such a discourse must be to stir men's minds, to induce them to look at social problems from another standpoint than that of personal interest, and so to ripen movements toward reform. That, it seems to us, is the great and unspeakable service of Mr. George's eloquent crusade with tongue and pen.

We believe that there is an illustrious field for political and social reform, and that what is mainly wanted is

the motive power of thought and will. Among English speaking people no man has done so much to kindle that essential spirit as Mr. Henry George. He is a living example of how one man possessed by a great idea can go near to turning the world.

Pall Mall Gazette.

The famous author of "Progress and Poverty" opened his second campaign in this country last night by making his bow at a meeting held at the Congregational chapel, Wren-road, Camberwell-green. The chapel was well filled. At times Mr. George speaks, as it were, almost in a colloquial tone, but ever and anon he has "gleam upon gleam" of eloquence, such as one might expect from his well known book. The chairman, the Rev. Dr. Clemence, in introducing Mr. George, said they welcomed him for his earnestness and sincerity. Let his theory be sifted. He thanked God for raising up "the world's prophet on the land question." Instead of Mr. George advising the breaking of the eighth commandment, he thought he did the opposite. He heartily welcomed the lecturer as one of the greatest reformers of the age. (Cheers.) Mr. George received a regular ovation on rising to speak. A Roman general of old could hardly have received a more hearty

Wandsworth and Putney observer.

Mr. Henry George, whose name has become a household word, had been induced by the Wandsworth liberal and radical club to pay a visit to this neighborhood, and Wednesday evening last, at the town hall, was fixed for the purpose. Admission was by ticket, for which payment was made, and the audience, therefore, might have been anticipated as more select than usual. But such was the desire to hear Mr. George that both the platform and the body of the large hall were filled by a gathering very much of the usual character at public meetings. Mr. George was far from disappointing expectation. He maintained with ability and force the particular opinions by which he won celebrity; but he is also an able orator, robust of physique as of style, of popular manners and address, clear and emphatic in delivery, and easy to understand; and he makes good use of a vein of sarcasm and somewhat bitter humor, which are perhaps natural to him, or in the minds of his followers arise from the subject. A considerable section of the audience was plainly devoted to his principles, and on their part he was frequently and heartily cheered.

London Christian Commonwealth.

Mr. George was entertained at dinner by the members of the new radical club, at Covent garden hotel, on Saturday. The radical wing of the united liberal and radical party are already hastening to do honor to the author of "Progress and Poverty." This is just; for they owe to Mr. George one of the strongest planks in their platform. It is comforting to reflect that what the radicals think and do to-day, the "liberals" will be thinking and doing to-morrow.

Cork, Ireland, Eagle.

Henry George has commenced his tour through England and Scotland. Why not establish in his wake branches of the nationalization league? It is all very well to hear the great reformer speak, and to applaud the noble principles which he upholds. But something more is necessary, and that something is to put his principles into practice. To do this, organization, we repeat, is indispensable; organization of voters, to agitate locally; to keep the flag flying, and to insist that the men they vote for at an election should be men after their own hearts. The more numerous and widespread this organization would be, the better chance for securing members who would favor nationalization principles.

London Star.

Earl Compton and Henry George unconsciously united on Saturday in writing on the wall, for the benefit of English landlordism. Said the earl:

"It would be of advantage to London if some members of families, having a proprietary interest in the land of London, came forward, not only to take part in local affairs, but, if possible, join the county council and show that they had a hearty interest in the welfare of a city whence they obtained most of their wealth."

Said the American prophet:

"We find, as Tolstoi has said, many men who were willing to do everything to help the working classes, to relieve the working classes, to relieve the poor, to raise up the downtrodden, except to get off their backs."

Now put these two utterances together and you have an admirable programme for London landlordism. Let the landlords come forward, as Lord Compton says, and assist one another, as George and Tolstoi put it, to "get off our backs." By way of stimulating their efforts in this direction, let these gentlemen remember how easy it is when persons in their position refuse to climb down for them to be checked off.

Western Morning News, Plymouth, England.

Mr. George as a preacher is said to be even more effective than he is as a lecturer. As a lecturer he has greatly improved since his last visit here. His oratorical style has lost nothing in dignity and gained something in clearness; but he still writes far better than he speaks. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the present visit is that he has been taken up largely by dissenting ministers who looked shyly upon him a few years ago because they thought that the forcible expropriation of landlords without compensation bore no very distant resemblance to sheer robbery. The plan of campaign, which the venerable Dr. Alton describes in his letter read at Lord Hartington's meeting last night us "simple and absolute immorality" is evidently beginning to work.

Let Englishmen Hear and Obey.

Nebraska State Journal.

We advise Englishmen to treat Henry George with silence.

TURGOT.<sup>1</sup>

(First Article.)

"What I admire in Christopher Columbus," said Turgot, "is not his having discovered the new world, but his having gone to search for it on the faith of an opinion." The nature of man is mirrored in his ideals, and the sentiment of the great French statesman and economist illuminates two characters. The true greatness of Columbus is just where Turgot placed it. His strong claim upon the honor and reverence of mankind rests upon his possession of that noble faith which is the result of qualities partly intellectual and partly moral, that far beyond the dim horizon of man's momentary environment, the teachings of reason and the laws of nature will be found ever to be in eternal and changeless accord.

In the remark about Columbus, Turgot has given us the key by which we may interpret his own character and work. In a different sphere of action and in a different department of knowledge Turgot displayed the same disregard of personal considerations, the same devotion to principle and the same confidence in the unseen issue which distinguished the discoverer of America. Such qualities are the noblest attributes of the human mind and fully justify the enthusiastic encomium of John Austin, when he spoke of "the godlike Turgot."

But before the investigator in the domain of social and political science can verify his principles by experiment he must not only overcome the intellectual difficulties which beset his subject and the ignorant prepossessions of the public—every scientific man finds these obstacles in his way—but he must conquer the opposition of those who have a personal interest in excluding the light. Powerful social forces resist the change and influential classes deny the principle upon which the change is justified. Columbus, the student of the physical universe, returned to Europe in seven months with his demonstration, which during five centuries no man has ventured to gainsay, nor ever will gainsay while the hemisphere which he discovered shall remain. Three centuries later Turgot brought to political and economic science the same spirit which Columbus brought to physical science. The laws which he discovered and expounded are none the less beneficial and none the less sure. The truths which he announced are just as certain and immutable to-day as they were one hundred years ago; but the struggle against their recognition is just as violent and just as persistent now as it was then. Principles endure forever; but so apparently do man's passion and injustice. The end no one can ever foresee.

Turgot, like Adam Smith, was educated for the church, and like his Scotch compeer, he early abandoned the clerical career for one more congenial to his tastes and capacity. While at the Sorbonne he attained to the most flattering distinction.

From 1743 to 1750, he pursued, without cessation, his theological studies, and these studies, together with the exercises and disputations, which were their obligatory complement, gave to his mind a most remarkable maturity.

"In order to execute the theological exercises, there was required," says Morellet, "a certain talent and address in disentangling the objection and in replying to it. In after years Turgot often said to me with a smile, 'My dear Abbe, it is only we who have passed our lieutentate who know how to reason with exactitude.'"

The value of such a training can scarcely be overestimated as a preparation for the economic investigations which were the intellectual occupation of his subsequent life. A deductive study, like theology, develops with exceptional rapidity that logical faculty which is so essential to success in the domain of political economy.

But even while at the Sorbonne his mind refused to be confined to the studies of his contemplated profession and turned to the consideration of subjects having a more humane and temporal interest.

In 1749 he composed the first economic essay which we have from his pen. It is a letter addressed from the seminary to his fellow student the Abbe de Cice. It was written to refute the defense of the system of law published twenty years before by Abbe Terrasson. Its main purpose was to combat the notion that me-

talic money is only a mere sign, deriving all of its value from the stamp of the sovereign.

"If forty years later," says Dupont de Nemours, in publishing this letter, "the majority of the citizens composing the constituent assembly had possessed as much intelligence as was shown by Turgot at this early age, France might have been saved from the assignats."

Turgot was twenty-three years old when he left the Sorbonne. His judgment was formed and his method established. He sought to trace all effects to their causes and to ascertain the laws by which the phenomena of nature may be systematized and explained. Clearly he is a man of his century, but he has known how to rise above his age and project himself into ours, and he has done so by his own energy and without other guide than his unaided reason. There is between him and Adam Smith a resemblance so striking that each seems to be the precursor of the other. They were nearly of the same age; Smith was born in 1723, Turgot in 1727.

M. Say carries out this interesting parallel still further. Both, he observes, were educated for the church, and both after having finished their studies abandoned the church for philosophy; both entertained the same views upon the progress of the human mind; both searched for the law of this progress in metaphysics, in moral philosophy and in political economy. Both matured their doctrines by solitary reflection.

Adam Smith, like Turgot, intended at one time, to write the history of civilization and of progress; and in furtherance of this project, he, like Turgot, never ceased to study man, in his language and in his moral, social and economic life. Each pursued his profound researches alone, and during the greater part of his life without knowledge of the other; but from the day on which they learned to know each other they derived reciprocal aid and profit from each other's works, and from those of their respective masters.

The little work of Turgot upon "The Formation and Distribution of Wealth," preceded by ten years the publication of the great economic work of Adam Smith, and these ten years are just those during which Turgot and Adam Smith saw and knew each other, and perhaps corresponded with one another upon economic subjects. Condorcet, in speaking of Turgot, says: "He maintained an active correspondence with Adam Smith." It must, however, be confessed that Dugald Stewart, the biographer of Adam Smith, declared he could find no trace of this correspondence.

Finally, it may be said of both of them that they have been the masters of the nineteenth century, which followed their death, rather than of the eighteenth century, in which they lived. Pulteney, in a speech upon the Bank of England, delivered in the House of Commons, May 30, 1797, said of Adam Smith that he would "persuade the present generation and rule the next." The same judgment might be pronounced upon Turgot, for he persuaded the enlightened minds of his own day without being able to dominate his century; yet by his ideas after his death he has governed and still controls the French nation.

Turgot was well equipped for the work of financial and economic reform. He was a country gentleman by birth and taste, but his intimate relations with Gournay, who had been a successful merchant before devoting himself entirely to economic inquiry, had given him an insight into the business of the commercial world. His long experience as *maître des requêtes* and *intendant*, both of which offices were connected with the assessment and collection of the revenue, had familiarized him with the operation of divers schemes of taxation and the general industrial situation in France. But more important than all was his clear and logical mind, and his intuitive appreciation of truth and justice, his generous and fearless enthusiasm for right and his inexorable perseverance in the performance of duty.

According to his view, mankind forms a natural society which is powerless to attain that degree of prosperity of which it is capable, except by conforming to laws or conditions from which it can never be freed. If humanity disobeys or seeks to evade these laws, it places an obstacle in the way of its own progress, and comes short of the degree of comfort and wealth which, by respecting these laws, it would have been able to secure to

the individual members of society. Such is the general notion entertained by Turgot upon the relation of natural law to political economy.

Turgot was in thorough accord with Quesnay and that band of economic philosophers called *Physiocrats* who, under the leadership of Quesnay, made up the sect of *Economistes*, and of whom David Hume said that they were "the most chimerical and arrogant clique of men which has existed since the Sorbonne was no more." But this spirit of sect was never visible in Turgot, who was far too great a man to assume the attitude of a mere disciple of Quesnay. He gave to the doctrines of the Physiocrats an original interpretation and new development, particularly along the line indicated by Gournay, that of the relation of the government to economic and industrial problems.

The physiocrats affirmed in the first place that the creation of wealth proceeded according to a natural law, and that in order to permit that law to produce its effects and humanity to enrich itself, it was necessary to accord to men united in society and organized in nations, first the liberty of producing, second the liberty of buying, selling and transporting the products of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, finally, the liberty of accumulating capital and of putting it in circulation either by way of loan or by otherwise employing it in the development of the general wealth. This is the first and highest truth which we owe to them.

Turgot epitomized in the three following propositions the doctrine of Gournay and made this doctrine his own:

First—Give to all branches of commerce that precious liberty of which it has been deprived by the prejudices of ignorant ages, by the facility with which government lends itself to particular interests and by the desire of a perfection misunderstood.

Secondly—Facilitate the labor of all the members of the state so as to excite the greatest possible competition in selling, whence there must necessarily result the greatest perfection in manufactures and the most advantageous price to the buyer.

Thirdly—Give to the buyer the greatest possible number of competitors, by opening to the seller all channels for the disposing of his commodities. This is the only means of securing to labor its recompense and of perpetuating production which has no other object than that recompense.

This system rested upon the maxim that every man is a better judge of his own interest than some other man to whom that interest is entirely indifferent.

Those who combatted the opinions of Gournay represented him as an enthusiast and theorist. "This name of theorist," said Turgot, "has become a sort of weapon in the mouths of all those persons who are predisposed or interested to maintain some abuse, against anyone who proposes a change."

On August 8, 1761, Turgot was appointed to the *intendance* of Limoges, France, at that time, was divided into forty provinces and thirty-five *generalités* or districts.

The provinces were military divisions under the control of governors; the *generalités* were administrative districts under the supervision of *intendants*. These divisions were widely different in extent and boundaries. The intendants were financial agents like the *directeurs des contributions* in our own day, but they also exercised judicial functions, being empowered to determine certain contentions in the matter of imposts, like the present *conseils de préfecture*; and like the present *préfets* they were charged with the supervision of the police, the militia and the public charities.

For thirteen years Turgot devoted himself to the interests of his district, with an ardor which never allowed him a moment of relaxation. He never shunned even the most onerous details, and yet he treated all administrative questions with that elevation of view and regard for general principles which distinguish the philosopher from the mere man of business. He united in himself the two characters to a most remarkable degree. The country over which he was placed was poor and overburdened with taxes. "I believe I am justified in asserting," said Turgot, "that in the *generalité* of Limoges, the taxes amount to 48 or 50 per cent of the total product and that the king draws from the land almost as much as the owners."

When he entered upon the duties of his

new office he found that the method of assessing the land tax was most arbitrary and confused. There had never been a proper survey and valuation of the lands in the district, and the rich nobles were accustomed to make use of the intendant to secure exemption or reduction of taxes for themselves or their protégés. Turgot at once put a stop to this system of favoritism and set about the Herculean but essentially practical task of getting an accurate survey and valuation of all the lands in his district. At the same time he wrote and circulated throughout the district the most elaborate discussions of the principles of taxation. The method of assessing and collecting the land tax which Turgot recommended is now the settled policy of the French government. The common people appreciated his efforts and regarded him as a benefactor; but the nobles could not forgive his refusal to respond to their unjust and fraudulent requests for favors and exemptions. Like all persons who are deprived of the enjoyment of a corrupt advantage, they promptly denounced him as an impracticable doctrinaire, as a man of theories and systems. "Yes, Madame, he is a theorist," exclaimed Abbe Baudeau, in talking of Turgot to a lady whose name he does not give, but whom he describes as a clever prude of the court and one of the mothers of the Jesuitical Israel, "yes, madam, he is a theorist. And do you imagine that routine methods and disjointed ideas are the proper instruments of government for a realm like France?"

In 1769 a famine occurred at Angoulême, in the *generalité* of Limoges, brought about by an excessive circulation of commercial paper. The credit of the Angoulême merchants in other cities was for the time being destroyed, business was at a standstill and the distress was terrible. The makers of this commercial paper were a band of scoundrels who had conspired together to profit by their own bankruptcy, by accusing of usury the persons who had discounted their bills and by denouncing them for this act before the *Sénéchal* of Angoulême. The purpose of the denunciation was to evade the debt and punish the creditor with fine and imprisonment for wishing to collect it.

The flagrant baseness of the proceeding excited Turgot to active interference. At his suggestion the creditors appealed to the royal council and Turgot accompanied the appeal with a paper on usury. The subject was treated analytically and historically; and the paper closed with an urgent recommendation to the council to define the law in such a manner that thereafter the parties might lawfully agree upon any rate of interest whatsoever. In this treatise Turgot anticipated Bentham's argument by a quarter of a century. The council acquitted the accused but declined to follow the intendant's advice.

The protective spirit of the middle ages expressed itself in the commercial regulations by which every center of population sought to cut itself off from every other in the silly attempt to secure both the penny and the loaf. In later centuries, with the growth of great nationalities, many of the internal barriers to commerce were broken down and supplanted by similar restrictions applied to the commerce of the nation as a whole. France in this respect was a good way behind some other European countries, for although she was blessed with all the restrictions upon foreign commerce which the most extreme protectionist could desire, her trade had not been relieved from the vexatious interference of local bodies. Her local authorities still retained and exercised considerable power in regulating all traffic and in fixing the price of commodities. The attempt to fix the price of merchandise by law is a survival of that medieval notion that there is a *just* price for commodities entirely independent of the price which the buyer and seller may determine for themselves, and that the ascertainment of this *just* price is a function of government. In respect of an article of prime necessity like corn, this superstition was particularly strong, and in times of scarcity the grain merchant was the object of strong popular animosity and of especial governmental control. The ignorant and ill-judged interference of the public officials always made exchange more difficult and increased prices. This result in turn increased the popular fury against the merchant for the people never ascribed the rise in price to foolish legislation, but always to the wickedness of the corn chandler's heart. Consequently, in times of famine nothing was more common than

(1) Turgot, Par Leon Say, 8vo, Hachette & Cie., Paris, 1887.

for crowds of starving men to break open and destroy the stores of grain, as a means of wreaking vengeance on the trader who refused to sell for less than the market price.

The great men in the state were not slow to take advantage of this prejudice to secure to themselves a monopoly of the grain trade. Companies were established by royal charter, to which was given the exclusive right of buying and selling corn in certain localities or throughout the kingdom. Sometimes it was thought that the king himself had a share in these enterprises. Nominally the companies were under government supervision and control, and this was the alleged reason for their creation; in reality they were simply schemes for monopolizing an article of cardinal necessity.

In 1770 there was a scarcity of grain in the *generalite* of Limoges. A royal proclamation of 1763 and the edict of 1764 had guaranteed the free circulation of corn throughout the kingdom; but this liberty was constantly menaced by parlements and municipal officers. For example, the parlement of Bordeaux ordained by a decree of January 14, 1770, that all the land owners and tenant farmers of Limousin and Perigord should bring each week to the town markets a quantity of corn sufficient for the provisioning of those markets, and forbade them selling their grain at wholesale or retail elsewhere than in the said markets.

The authorities of the little city of Turenne had shown no greater respect for the new law. They prohibited the taking of grain from their city, and ordained that the farmers should give up their grain, on receiving the current market price.

Finally, the lieutenant of police at Angoulême, made bold to publish an ordinance obliging all persons who had grain in store or otherwise, to reserve nothing beyond what was absolutely necessary for the nourishment of themselves and their families; and to bring the surplus to market under pain of a fine of one thousand livres. The effect of all this was to add to the local dearth, already quite serious from the loss of the harvest, a famine more general, resulting from the impossibility of making up by the aid of commerce the deficit existing in the *generalite*.

Turgot, alive to the danger, took the most energetic measures. He applied to the council to obtain the nullification of the Bordeaux decrees. He commanded the municipality of Turenne to abandon its opposition to the exportation of grain. He had the lieutenant of police at Angoulême forbidden by a decree of council to execute his ordinance. At the same time he caused to be distributed a great number of copies of the royal proclamation of 1763 and the edict of July, 1764, upon the free circulation of corn, and also the work of Le Trosne, entitled, "The freedom of the grain trade always useful, never injurious;" for he was accustomed to say: "The laws themselves must be sown in prepared ground." But he did not content himself with these passive measures; he organized bureaus of charity, obliged the land owners to maintain their laborers and opened the stone yards for the construction of roads and highways.

Political difficulties, however, which had contributed to the high price of corn not only at Limoges, but in many other provinces, had seriously shaken the confidence of Abbe Terray who was at that time finance minister to Louis XV, if he ever was sincere, which, by the way, is not probable, in the efficacy of the free circulation of corn permitted by Controller General Bertin, in the edict of 1764; Abbe Terray therefore resolved to revoke the edict. Before putting his project into execution, although conclusively decided as to his course, by all sorts of reasons, some of which were far from being honest, Terray sent out letters to all the intendants in the kingdom asking their opinion. Turgot responded in seven letters which have become a classic. His defense of liberty was complete; he showed by an unanswerable chain of reasoning, that the farmer, the merchant and the consumer are all alike interested in an unrestricted trade in corn. "The regulations and restrictions," said Turgot, "never produce one grain of corn more, but they hinder the transportation of grain from the locality where it is superabundant to the places where it is scarce."

It was said at the time that it was the king's speculations in grain which Terray wished to favor by abolishing the edict of 1764. Turgot therefore touched a sensitive point when he declared he could not conceive a chartered company

which would exercise a more terrible monopoly. "A monopoly of purchase as against the laborer, and a monopoly of sale as against the consumer. Even had such a company been composed of angels it could not have succeeded in equalizing prices. It would be incapable of providing for the subsistence of all and the people would always say that it was composed of rogues."

Abbe Terray, however, would listen to nothing. He contented himself with eulogizing the letters which he had received and offering them as models to the other intendants; while he abolished by edict of December 23, 1770, the principal provisions of the edict of 1764. All those who wished to engage in the grain trade were obliged to inscribe in the registers of the police their names, surnames, rank and residence, the location of their warehouses and the places in which they carried on business, and they were compelled, under the most severe penalties, to sell nothing except in the public markets.

"From twenty villages," said Voltaire, "the lords, priests, laborers and mechanics were forced to go or to send at great expense to that capital (the place where the market was); if any one sold at home to his neighbor a setier of corn, he was condemned to pay a fine of five hundred livres, and the corn, wagon and the horses were seized for the benefit of the troop of soldiers who committed the rapine. Every nobleman who, in his own village gave wheat or oats to one of his own vassals, was in danger of being punished as a criminal."

To put an end to this abuse of power it was necessary that Turgot should become minister.

DWIGHT M. LOWREY.

Philadelphia, Pa.

#### TARIFF NOTES.

By means of the high tariff the manufacturers can combine and keep up high prices which the people must pay.—[Oswego Palladium.]

With cheap raw materials our manufacturers can compete with their rivals in the neutral markets of the world, and thus dispose of their surplus products, and afford employment to hundreds of thousands of men now reduced to total or partial idleness.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.]

The tariff of fifty-seven per cent remains undisturbed; the combine by which a high price for thread is maintained is unbroken, and yet the kindly considerate Clark Bros., who were so solicitous that their workmen should not suffer loss before election, have reduced their wages fifteen per cent.—[Oswego Palladium.]

The trouble is people do not think; if they did they would at once see that it is only the lumber kings and forest owners who are benefited by the duty on lumber.—[Tilford, South Dak., Times.]

Julius Goldschmidt, the new consul general to Vienna, is vice-president of the Brand stove works in Milwaukee. During the campaign Mr. Goldschmidt was an ardent protectionist, and diligently explained to the workingmen that protection meant high wages and general prosperity to every one, while tariff reduction meant a cutting down in wages all around. Just at present Mr. Goldschmidt is delayed in leaving for Vienna because his workingmen cannot understand why their wages should be reduced.—[New York World.]

It is a matter of historical record that England's manufacturing industries expanded under commercial freedom, and that country keeps her export trade by utilizing free raw materials. While the workmen in American factories are glad to get work nine months in the year, the British factories run all the year round, having the world for a market.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.]

Even the high tariff New York Sun occasionally strikes fundamental principles. It asks, opposing the project of paying a bounty on sorghum sugar: "If it does not pay to raise sorghum, why should the people of the state be taxed to enable a few persons to grow this particular crop?" Yes, why? And why should the people be taxed to enable a few persons to grow wool, manufacture tin plate, salt and a few hundred other things. Sorghum has as much claim to "protection" as any of these things, and the people deserve to be freed from taxation upon them as well as upon sorghum. If the rule is good let us have more of it.—[Rome, N. Y., Sentinel.]

The fat frying business goes right along. Last fall it was the protected manufacturer who was held over the fire till he exuded fat into the contribution plate of Brother Wanamaker. This spring it is the protected laborer who is over the coals.—[Chicago News.]

The laborers in all branches of industry live under a system of absolute free trade in that which they have to sell, namely, their labor, and the only way in which protection affects them is to double the cost of everything they have to buy.—[Tilford, So. Dak., Times.]

A protective tariff aids and makes possible trusts, pools and monopolies, which could never exist without its aid.—[Fulton, Ill., Journal.]

A tariff for protection is simply a process through which the fiscal agency of the government is used to insure a profit to certain moneyed interests, altogether of a private sort.—[Belford's Magazine.]

#### THE SINGLE TAX PETITION TO CONGRESS.

The Number of Signatures Now More Than 50,000.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE, NEW YORK, April 23.

The past week has not shown any improvement in the receipt of petitions. There were, early in the week, two or three notably bad days, but the number has increased the latter part of the week, bringing the total up to 1,225. Though this is by no means a satisfactory week's work, we were fortunate enough to reach a total slightly exceeding 50,000, and this figure having been reached, it should give our friends an impetus for new work. Let all who have signed petitions in their possession hasten them forward, so that by the next report, which will, on account of the centennial, have to be dated April 29, the total shall have reached 52,000, being the number marked out by the committee in the beginning for the whole year's work.

The new tracts for which we have been waiting are now printed and will go out to new signers during this and the coming week. Those receiving them will notice that the last two leaves of the tract are simply six petitions appropriately backed with a summary of our principles, and all they have to do is to cut them out and obtain signatures. Any one who do not find that these six are enough, will receive all the blanks they desire on application.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week . . . . . 48,804

Received during week ending April 23, 1,225

Total . . . . . 50,029

Contributions received from the public (aside from any payments made by regular subscribers), during the past week have been as follows:

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston, Mass.	10 00
Richard Powers, Roxbury, Mass.	1 00
K. F. Heinzen, Boston, Mass.	1 00
George White, New York city.	2 00
"Uncle Tom," Bryn Mawr, Pa.	27
"Single Tax," Waltham, Mass.	1 00
D. Stuart, Oakland, Cal.	1 00
George M. Craig, Los Angeles, Cal.	1 00
F. G. Anderson, Jamestown, N. Y.	25
J. J. Barnard, Passaic, N. J.	1 00
John Cairns, Hartford, Conn.	25
Dr. C. K. Cutler, Charlestown, Mass.	1 00
Sundry subscriptions in postage stamps (two weeks)	2 13

Total . . . . . \$21 90

Previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD. . . . . 3,617 93

Total . . . . . \$3,639 83

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

The following are extracts taken from a few of the letters received by the committee:

Robert Baker, Albany, N. Y.—The enclosed ten signatures bring my list up to 1,600. One of the signers was one of the original converts of the '86 campaign and was a subscriber to THE STANDARD for six months afterwards. He, in conjunction with a number of others, entered that campaign with the determination to "do or die," and he died. He was even ignorant of the fact that a petition was in circulation, but upon my showing him with what ease I obtained signatures and the splendid opportunity this work afforded for introducing the subject to those absolutely ignorant of our principles, he promised to go to work in the same manner.

Wm. Jackson, Middleport, N. Y.—I have not had a chance for some years to talk politics with my brother, but when I presented the single tax to him recently he saw the cat at once. He is a farmer and a large sheep raiser, but he says sheep are not raised for their wool and cannot be raised but for their mutton. He has just been building a new house and a very large barn and he says that the tariff tax on the materials cost him about \$400, while the local assessor has raised his assessment \$2,000.

James Carter, Winchester, Ind.—The most encouraging result of presenting the petition is the general expression of opinion that if the single tax will force into use land now held idle by speculators without increasing the burden on farmers and small homesteads it is a good thing.

O. C. Basch, Cincinnati, Ohio.—During a recent business trip I obtained 100 signatures, which I enclose. They represent merchants and business men particularly, but I have not disdained to accept the signatures of ministers, members of the legislature and lawyers. Hope to send you as many more before I return home.

Phil Acker, Kansas City, Mo.—Eight months ago I was a strong high protectionist, but it was my luck to be converted to the single tax idea and that put an end to protection.

John Bridge, Detroit, Mich.—I am sure the single tax idea is making headway in the minds of the men and women of this city. One convert makes two, and two make four, and so it goes.

R. Delaney, Memphis, Tenn.—Political economy is as closely allied to religion as sanitary science is to the principles of medicine. A clergyman exhorting his hearers to cease sin-

ning, so long as unjust social conditions exist, is like a doctor advising people not to get sick in a miasmic neighborhood. It is time that the clergymen were waking up to try and make it possible for a rich man to go to heaven. The single tax will do it.

Thomas McGouran, Denver, Col.—In this city and for miles around it we are over run with land speculators and real estate commands fabulous prices. This state of things will eventually make a strong single tax sentiment here. When getting signatures I have found many men who had come independently to the conclusion we hold without ever having heard of the single tax movement.

Joseph Suess, Chicago, Ill.—I have no difficulty now in getting signatures, which is due, I believe, to the discussion brought about by the late convention.

W. B. Green, Metropolis, Ill.—The petitions to congress are doing good work. K. of L. assembly 2,228 signed it almost solidly except six republicans. Since the signers have got returns and read the tracts there has been a great deal of talk here about the single tax.

E. J. Perego, Wichita Falls, Texas.—Republicans refuse to sign the petition. Protection is their religion, though some of them have not a corn-dodger in the house.

E. G. Flanagan, Pittsburgh, Pa.—The most of the tracts are already placed where they will be carefully read. Some of the men whose names I first sent in have gone to work to get their blanks filled up. Others are talking single tax to their friends.

John W. Smith, Haverhill, Mass.—Two of these signers were formerly radical protectionists.

Thomas J. Hudson, Indianapolis, Ind.—Slowly but surely the leaven is working. Tariff reformers here are becoming more outspoken for free trade and free traders are listening with more patience to single tax men.

M. L. Hostetter, Osceola, Iowa.—One signer lives in town but owns 500 acres of land in the country. He is an Irishman and knows what is the real trouble with his countrymen in Ireland, but he says that under the present system he must own land in order to avoid slavery for himself and children.

Bolton Smith, Memphis, Tenn.—One of our politicians, "Squire Pat Winters," came out strongly for the single tax on March 17 at an Irish land league meeting. He wanted the Irish to organize a meeting in each ward in the town. "Squire Winters" has considerable influence with his race, and he manifestly sees something in the single tax.

#### One of the Early Labor Platforms.

The report of the Colorado Bureau of Labor contains the platform adopted by the "Young American" party at a convention held in New York city in 1830. The resolutions show that at that day the party saw that the land question must play an important part in settling the labor question, but that the method of restoring to men their natural right in the soil had not yet been seen. The platform made the following declarations:

1. The right of man to the soil.
2. Down with monopolies.
3. Freedom of public lands.
4. Homesteads to be made inalienable.
5. Abolition of laws for the collection of debts.
6. A general bankrupt law.
7. A lien by the laborer upon his own work for his wages.
8. Abolition of imprisonment for debt.
9. Equal rights with men for women.
10. The abolition of chattel slavery and wage slavery.
11. Land limited to 160 acres, no person after the passage of the law to become possessed of more than that amount of land. When a land monopolist dies his heirs to take each his legal number of acres and be compelled to sell the overplus.
12. Mails of the United States to run on the Sabbath.

#### A Glaring Instance.

New York Evening Post.

One of the manufacturers who made use of the bullocky "pay envelopes" during the last campaign was P. K. Dederick, maker of hay presses, brick machines, etc., at Albany. Among the lies which appeared on these envelopes were the following:

THE ONE ISSUE OF THIS CAMPAIGN:  
SHALL AMERICAN GOODS AND PRODUCTS, OR  
ENGLISH GOODS AND PRODUCTS, STOCK  
OUR HOME MARKET?

SHALL AMERICAN WAGES OR ENGLISH WAGES  
BE PAID TO OUR WORKINGMEN AND  
WORKINGWOMEN?

A facsimile of the envelopes is now published by the Albany Evening Union, in the same column with this interesting announcement:

It is now a little over a month since a protection president was inaugurated, and the Albany Express (ep.) of this morning contains the following:

"WAGES HEAVILY CUT."

"P. K. DEDERICK'S MEN MUST ACCEPT 25 PER CENT REDUCTION OR GO."

"THE WOODWORKERS IN THE EMPLOY OF P. K. DEDERICK, MANUFACTURER OF HAY PRESSES, BRICK MACHINES, ETC., HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED THAT THEIR WAGES WILL HEREAFTER BE 25 PER CENT LOWER THAN BEFORE. THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ASKED WHETHER THEY WILL ACCEPT THE REDUCTION; IT HAS SIMPLY BEEN THROWN UPON THEM."

## THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at  
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.

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Entered at the post office, New York, as second class matter.

Communications and contributions are invited, and will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found suitable for publication will be returned if sufficient stamps are sent for return postage. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

Contributions and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to the PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscribers at every post office in the United States, to whom liberal terms will be given.

THE STANDARD is for sale by newsdealers throughout the United States. Persons who may be unable to obtain it will confer a favor on the publisher by notifying him promptly.

Sample copies sent free on application.

THE STANDARD is not sent to subscribers after the expiration of the time paid for.

Subscribers should renew a week or two before the expiration of their subscriptions to prevent the loss of any numbers.

Mr. Broadhurst, the labor member of parliament, brought on a debate in the house of commons a week or two ago upon the condition of the poor in large towns. He spoke of the drift of population into cities, complained that the poor were badly lodged and fed, and demanded that the government provide better lodgings and furnish free lunches to children at public schools. The Evening Post justly supposes that Mr. Broadhurst's proposed remedy must strike thoughtful people as irrational; but, judging from the further comments of the Post, it did not strike thoughtful people when it struck the editors of that paper.

According to the Post, any scheme for permanently improving the condition of the urban poor, to be successful, must be accompanied by some plan of keeping down the urban population, which, says the Post, is impossible. But it is not impossible. It would be just as easy and hardly more horrible to kill superfluous babies with electricity, according to the American mode of execution, than to murder them by starvation and disease; and to keep country people away by a protective tariff according to the American method of commercial intercourse would not be so very difficult.

The question of population the Post thoughtlessly thinks (to use an expression specially adapted to the intellectual exercises of that journal) lies at the root of the labor problem. Thus: The answer to the question why machinery has not done more to improve the condition of the working class is simply that the working class pursues the machines with so many children that they cannot get very far ahead with their production! To illuminate the depths of this well of economic wisdom, the statement is made that when England began to use machinery on a large scale she had a population of ten million, and though machinery has done great things for popular comfort she has now thirty-five million to support instead of ten million, and "of course leisure and luxuries for the workingman are still a long way off."

It is the extreme of charity to attribute this to thoughtless thinking, for it seems impossible to give to the matter even that attention which is necessary to make the sentences grammatical without seeing the absurdity of the proposition. It is utterly void of sense, unless we assume that labor has nothing to do either with making or with using machines. Machines are made by labor and there is no limit to the machines labor can make save the state of the art and natural materials. All machines are operated by labor, and there is no limit upon the extent of their operation or the volume of their products save the natural material required. The more working classes pursue machines the more productive should machinery become. To give a semblance of sense to the Post's antiquated proposition it must be assumed that machines are things that labor cannot reproduce. This is the socialistic hypothesis, and once granted validates the socialistic programme. That it would so result, is no reason for not

granting it; but that it is false is the best of reasons.

The reason machinery has not done more for the working class is not that the working class pursues the machines with children, but that the cost of access to raw material, which labor cannot reproduce, has increased in greater ratio than the productive power of machinery. This fact is at once illustrated and overlooked by Green in his "History of the English People." Speaking of the period to which the Post refers, when England's population was but 10,000,000, he says: "The vast accumulation of capital as well as the vast increase of population at this time, told upon the land;" "wheat rose to famine prices and the value of land rose in proportion with the price of wheat;" "inclosures went on with prodigious rapidity;" "the income of every landowner was doubled;" "but if the increase of wealth was enormous, its distribution was partial;" "during the fifteen years which preceded Waterloo the number of the population rose from 10,000,000 to 13,000,000 and this rapid increase kept down the rate of wages which would naturally have advanced in a corresponding degree with the increase in the national wealth." Here Green had before him in his own manuscript not only the fact that machinery had increased wealth without benefiting labor, but also the obviously related fact that land so increased in value and was being so rapidly inclosed that the incomes of land owners doubled; and yet he explained the continued low wages not by the fact that the increased production was absorbed by rent, but that population had increased by a third. How trivial as an explanation, and how utterly irrational when we remember that the effect of increased population on production is precisely the same as that of improved machinery—a greater product per capita. The 13,000,000 in England in 1815 were able, even without improved machinery, to produce more per capita than the 10,000,000 could have done fifteen years before. If this is not true there is nothing in the doctrine that division of labor yields larger returns. But irrespective of that doctrine no one will deny that 13,000,000 people can produce as much per capita as 10,000,000; and, that being admitted, will some one explain how increase of population can damage the working class? There is an explanation. It is the explanation that Green mentions but does not see, and that the Post ignores, namely, increase of population makes access to land more difficult by making it more valuable.

Once open the door to arbitrary criminal procedure and there is no telling what monster will creep in. Once give to the police autocratic power and there is no telling how much they will want nor how much they will by degrees succeed in getting. It has for some time been the custom of the police of New York to take important prisoners to police headquarters and there, away from friends and counsel, to subject them to unauthorized and unwarranted examinations and espionage. How this is done was shown in the trial of the boy accused of murdering a druggist's assistant. So well had a web been woven about this boy that it is altogether probable if he had not been a mere boy that he would have been convicted of a crime which every one but the police is now convinced he did not commit. If we are to have courts of first instance, such as they have on the continent of Europe, let us have responsible and legalized courts, and not an irresponsible police inquisition.

In another way the police are showing their itching for autocratic power. Our penal code provides that any one who has been legally adjudged an habitual criminal may be arrested without warrant and punished as a disorderly person, provided he has a dangerous weapon or a criminal tool in his possession, or is acting in a manner to create a suspicion that he is about to commit a crime. But the police are not satisfied with this, and, at the instance of Inspector Byrnes, Senator Murphy has introduced a bill allowing the

police to arrest without warrant any person known to them as an habitual criminal who is "acting in a manner which might appear to the police as suspicious." If this law were passed nothing would stand between the police and the liberty of the citizen but the writ of habeas corpus, and when our people become so indifferent to the rights of individuals as to permit such a law as Senator Murphy's bill to stand upon the statute book the police will not hesitate long about getting rid of the writ of habeas corpus.

The Ohio committee on taxation has made its report to the general assembly. In the course of the report it says: "The most zealous advocates of tax reform in Ohio to-day are the single tax men. We have received many letters advocating their ideas from all quarters of the state, and some petitions. They brought Mr. Henry George, Mr. Tom L. Johnson and Mr. Thomas G. Shearman before us to expound their doctrines. The press of the country have so fully set forth their views that we shall not attempt any resume here. We do not agree with them, nor believe that Ohio is ready or willing to accept their ideas."

What the single tax man demands is that public revenues should be derived from a single tax on the value of land, and the property produced by labor should be untaxed. Since farming land has but little value compared with farm improvements and stock, the single tax would reduce the taxes of farmers. Since the land on which workingmen build their homes is of very little value compared with the house and furniture, the single tax would reduce taxes on workingmen's homes. Since the land that small business men use is of little value compared with their improvements, the single tax would reduce the taxes of small business men. And since a great proportion of the people are becoming renters, the ground rent they already pay to a landlord would be their only tax, for out of that ground rent he would have to pay the single tax. On the other hand, since the greater value of mining property is in the mining right and not in the improvements, mining monopolies would have to pay a higher tax. Since the greater value of railroad property is not the rails and rolling stock and stations, but the exclusive franchise of right of way, railroad monopolies would have to pay a higher tax. Since land values in cities are greater than improvement values, cities would have to pay a higher tax. The system of taxation to which this Ohio committee would not subscribe, then, is a system that relieves the farmer, the workingman, the tenant, the small business man and country communities, and places the burden of taxation on mining monopolists, on railroad monopolists, on land monopolists generally, and on city communities.

Having seen that this astute committee is opposed to a system of taxation that favors industry and discourages monopoly, let us see what kind of taxes it advocates. Among its recommendations are a tax on the right of incorporation, which is like taxing an improved method of doing business; taxes on corporations enjoying special privileges under the law of eminent domain, such as railroads, telegraphs, etc., which is really one phase of the single tax; a tax on collateral inheritances, to which of course there is no objection from an economic point of view, although from the moral point of view it is a confiscation of private property; and a tax on the holders of profitable offices, which is the same as if a merchant should keep back part of the stipulated wages of his clerk and use it to pay store rent on the theory that the clerk ought to contribute to the rent of the place in which he earned his wages.

The committee reports that its expenses were \$102.60. It deserves credit for so nicely adjusting the cost of its services to their value.

The Poughkeepsie Eagle, a strong protection paper, has the candor to admit that free trade would not trouble the farmer. "It is not free trade with other countries," it says, "that troubles the

farmer; he can hold his own with all the rest of the world on that score, for he is an exporter, and the freer the trade the better." This candor is really remarkable, and might be supposed to have been a slip of the pen were it not that the writer forges ahead, "giving away" the protection scheme in every paragraph. Protection regards trade as a bad thing, and the Poughkeepsie Eagle follows boldly and candidly where protection leads. What really does trouble the farmer, according to its views, "is the competition which is caused by free trade within our own boundaries." By this is meant the competition of western with eastern farmers. And the eastern farmer is told that in opposing railroad combinations, and advocating free canals, he has been an efficient helper in the process of his own destruction. The Eagle does not have the hardihood to distinctly advocate what it certainly regards as the true remedy, but the inference is an open one. Railroads should be encouraged to combine and raise their charges to the highest point, and to enable them to do this the canals should be closed or left to fill up; and meanwhile a constitutional amendment should be passed that would open the way to a protective tariff between the states. This would give the eastern farmer the eastern market for his grain. What became of the western market for those eastern products that we are in the habit of trading for western grain is of no more moment than what becomes of the foreign market for our goods when we cut off our market for foreign goods.

It is impossible to understand why republican protectionists applaud the coercion of the south. Instead of coercing a section that wanted to secede they should have rejoiced at that secession and encouraged the secession of other sections. If now, instead of one nation between the two oceans from Mexico to Canada we had an eastern, a western and a southern nation, what splendid home markets each might enjoy, and what magnificent custom house opportunities there might be for the distribution of executive patronage. And Mr. Carnegie, instead of resorting to the free trade device of enforcing reductions in freight charges to enable him to compete with Alabama manufacturers, would have nothing to do but go to the congress of the east and get a tariff law to keep out the pauper goods of the south. Then both he and the Pennsylvania railroad could enjoy the blessings of protection together and in peace.

One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the proposal to hold a convention at Chattanooga in May next for the purpose of forming a Southern protective tariff league. The object of this league is to unite protective sentiment in the south in favor of the election of protectionists to congress. This movement is hopeful because it is impossible to unite the protective sentiment in any section without uniting free trade sentiment in opposition, and because the protectionists of the south being led thereby into the republican party, which is now fully committed to protection, will not only drive free trade republicans into the democratic party, but will compel the free trade democrats to commit their party as fully to free trade as the republican party is committed to protection. The great weakness of the democratic party to-day is that it has no distinct policy, while its adversary has one; and the only weakness of the free trade policy is that it has no party while the protection policy has one. The sooner the democratic party gets off the fence and down on the only side of the fence that is politically unoccupied—the free trade side—the sooner will it come into power. Nothing remains to accomplish this but to drive protection democrats out of the party and invite republican free traders into it, and the proposed Chattanooga convention, if held, will be one of the most effective agencies in doing this.

As we predicted, the New Jersey senate has smothered the Australian system of

voting which was carried in the assembly. In the senate of New York everything is being done to save the governor the alternative of offending the people by a veto or by signing the bill and breaking up the machine on which his political fortunes depend. In Massachusetts an attempt was made by the machine politicians to repeal the law heretofore passed in that state, but the attempt failed. When it came up for a hearing before the elections committee, no one had the temerity to support the proposed repeal, but very strong speeches were made in favor of the law.

The New York Sun is indebted to the Albany Evening Journal for a veritable mare's nest in political economy. Because the city of New York has borrowed a large sum of money at a low rate of interest it assumes that the returns of invested capital are rapidly diminishing, and "that it is labor which especially profits by the diminution." This goes to show that a man may speak sixteen languages with fluency—we believe that is Mr. Dana's boast—and yet be unable to do justice to a simple problem in logic. Since rent, as well as interest and wages, is an element in the distribution of wealth, it is rather hard on Whately to say that, inasmuch as interest has fallen therefore wages have risen. It is quite possible, logically, that it is the landowner and not the laborer who profits when interest falls; and in practice, as any observer will testify, it is a good deal more than possible. It is probable, however, that Mr. Dana and the Albany Journal regard land and capital as the same thing, and hence infer that since the income per cent of capital has diminished, the wages of labor must have increased. If land remained at the same price this would be valid, but land increases in value with growth of demand for it, from which it follows that a lower percentage of rent may be a higher income.

The Boston Herald tells us there can be no doubt that the single tax theory is making a great many converts among the working people of this country. We know it. Moreover, we know what the Herald does not yet appear to have noticed, that a great many people whom it would not class as working people, but who are, nevertheless, are also converts. No reform has ever made such rapid and lasting advances as has the single tax within the past year. But the Herald is rather mystic in its ideas of the nature of this reform. It supposes that in the main the reason for supporting the single tax is that it is held out as a panacea for poverty. In this we think the Herald is right; at least we hope so. But in its opinion this notion is altogether a mistaken one, for as it says, "whatever merit there may be in the system of taxation it will not abolish idleness, thriftlessness, improvidence, drunkenness or physical and mental incapacity, which are in the main in all civilized and law abiding communities the chief cause of extreme destitution." Is the Herald quite sure that these are the main causes of poverty anywhere? Are not the most destitute the most industrious? No one is impoverished by his own idleness if he can divide with those who work. No one is impoverished by his own thriftlessness if he can tax the workers enough to meet his wants. And are there not numerous instances of improvidence, drunkenness and physical and mental incapacity among the rich? Be all that as it may, however, the single tax does not propose to remedy any of the ill effects of idleness, thriftlessness, improvidence or drunkenness, nor to reward mental or physical incapacity. What it does propose is to make industry possible to all, by freeing natural opportunities for work, and to encourage thrift and prudence, by securing to the industrious the full earnings of their labor. Has the Herald any objection to this programme? If so, what is the objection? If it has no objection, does it doubt the efficacy of the single tax in these respects? If it does, will it define its doubts?

In this same article the Herald insinuates that any better opportunities

for work than are now afforded would avail little, because a large percentage of the world's population, even in highly civilized countries, are not now willing to avail themselves of the chances they have. On what does the Herald base this? Surely not on its dispatches from Oklahoma. It may be that many people might get work for fifty cents a day instead of a dollar, and because they won't take it are idle. They are not willing, according to the Herald, to avail themselves of the chances they have. But if they did avail themselves of the chances they have, what would become of the dollar men whom they displaced? The single tax would make opportunities without displacing any one and with higher instead of lower wages. If any one did not take advantage of his opportunities then he would have only himself to blame. We do not propose to work miracles or to change human nature; but what we do propose is to remove obstructions to prevent legalized robbery and to give human nature a chance.

The Herald winds up its criticism with a very choice bit. Quoting from a farmer a criticism that if land were taxed farmers would bear the brunt of taxation, it says that there is force in this criticism and also in the criticism that places where the valuation of land is very high would have to pay proportionately more toward the support of government than now, although it is doubtful if they would receive proportionately as much benefit from the government as the people of lower taxed communities. These two criticisms are worthy of the best efforts of a protection economist, though the protection economist is usually shrewd enough to keep his inconsistencies farther apart. If the places of high land value are taxed more than now, it is difficult to see how the farmer will bear the burden of taxation, since he does not farm on land of high value; and if the communities of high land values are to have proportionately less benefit from the system it is hard to see how farming communities are to suffer. The fact is that both communities will be benefited; and although those of high land values will, as communities, pay higher taxes, and those of low land values lower taxes, the taxes of individuals in both communities will be less in the proportion that they are industrious and more in the proportion that they are mere monopolists. The Herald has performed a real service in bringing together in the same criticism these two inconsistent objections which have heretofore floated around, each on its own account; and if that paper would complete its work by saying that "there is force in the objection that the single tax would not raise sufficient revenue and also in the objection that it would raise too much," it would confer a lasting favor.

Sixteen republican members of the Minnesota legislature, in a protest against the granger meat bill, have signed one of the best free trade documents recently issued. The granger meat bill is intended to protect the meat raisers of Minnesota against the pauper meat of other states and territories, and this purpose is characterized by the signers of the protest as an infringement of the rights of meat consumers in Minnesota and of meat sellers in all other states. "Let this kind of legislation obtain in the several states," they say, "and the republic will have passed the day and hour of its prosperity, and destruction will more certainly threaten than when the clash of resounding arms reverberated in civil conflict." All through last fall's campaign the free traders who supported Cleveland insisted that such exceptional prosperity as this country enjoyed was due, not to a protective tariff upon imports, but to free trade between the states; and now sixteen republican members of the Minnesota legislature endorse the sentiment in most emphatic language.

The Rev. Albert J. Lyman, pastor of the South Congregational church of Brooklyn, preached in the Church of the Pilgrims last winter and the Congrega-

tionalist has recently published his sermon. It is a singularly ignorant criticism of the social and economic agitations that are going on around him. But of that it is not worth while to speak, for the Rev. Mr. Lyman is in this respect by no means a unique pulpit figure. He makes an illustration, however, that is worth thinking of. "Suppose Stanley were suddenly to reappear on the Congo," he says, "with the surprising and wonderful information that in the course of his journey through those remote and mysterious regions of equatorial Africa he had discovered a plant or fruit possessing a wonderful healing power, so that before its magical influence fever would fly away and pain subside and weary nerves again regain their tone, do you suppose that a generous man like Stanley would keep to himself the name of the new specific and where it could be found?" We do not think he would. Stanley might be generous enough to say to all the world go and help yourself. But a less generous man, though he would not keep to himself the name of the new specific and where it could be found, would hunt around for a title to the land on which it grew, and would then, while enjoying himself in his London club, permit other people to perform the labor and meet the dangers of gathering the plant or fruit, provided they would give him a good part of what they gathered for the privilege of being allowed to gather at all.

The latest attempt of the catholic protectorate to get a share of the public school fund has brought to light the fact that in round numbers \$100,000 of this fund was divided last year among a dozen or more private institutions, including the Protestant half-orphan asylum, the Methodist home missionary school, the Hebrew orphan asylum, and the Roman Catholic orphan asylum. No wonder the protectorate is so persistent in its efforts to get something out of the fund for itself. But it would be a great deal more honest on the part of its managers if, instead of trying to get some of the fund, they tried to prevent its diversion to any private institution whatever. To take any part of this fund, raised as it is for a distinct purpose, and apply it as it appears \$100,000 was applied last year, is essentially as dishonest an act as it would be to take it for the purpose of opening a private bank account.

The "labor platform" of more than fifty years ago, printed elsewhere in this number of THE STANDARD, shows a clear perception of the evils of land monopoly, though the remedies proposed are cumbersome and ineffective. The arbitrary limit of 160 acres would not prevent the most exaggerated growth of landlordism in great cities and in mining regions, and it might easily work injury to the whole community by restraining farming operations on an extensive scale. The single tax presents a practicable method of reaching, so far as land is concerned, every object aimed at by those patriots of long ago. It recognizes the right of man to the soil. It downswings the parent of all monopolies, and gives the only possible assurance to each individual of his right of access to his exact share of public land. It makes a homestead inalienable so long as the individual meets his just obligations to society, and by opening natural opportunities to all, it abolishes wage slavery. It requires no arbitrary limit as to the amount of land held, and need not interfere in testamentary matters, since no man will have any inducement to hold a foot of land that he does not put to its most profitable use after he has been shorn of the opportunity to appropriate the added value given to such land by other people. The sons of the "young Americans" of 1830 should prove themselves worthy of their sires by joining in the single tax movement.

The windows of THE STANDARD editorial rooms have been placed at the disposal of Wm. T. Croasdale, chairman of the enrollment committee, for the two parade days of the centennial celebration April 30 and May 1. Whatever sum is realized by the sale of seats in these windows will

be used by the committee in its work of obtaining signatures to the single tax petition to congress, distributing literature, etc. Seats will be sold at \$3 apiece for each day.

#### SOCIETY NOTES.

A year's income for a well-to-do family is cheerfully given for standing room in a window on the line of march, and as for those who are householders on Fifth avenue or Washington square, they are making April 30 a genuine gala day by inviting as many friends as their windows will accommodate, with the promise of entertaining them lavishly at luncheon. Mrs. Morton's house at the corner of Fifth avenue and Sixteenth street will, of course, be the government headquarters, as Mrs. Harrison and all the ladies of the presidential party will be there, as well as several of the diplomats and many of Mrs. Morton's personal friends. Other ladies who have invited parties of ten, twenty and thirty to view the parade from their windows are Mrs. W. D. Sloane, Mrs. Frederick Vanderbilt, Mrs. Van Auken, and Mrs. James J. Burden. —[New York Sun.]

Mrs. M. Rosendorff defrayed the expenses of the annual distribution of Passover meat and bread which was given to the poor of the east side on April 14 in Goodfellow's hall, No. 79 Essex street, regardless of nationality. Several hundred people in destitute circumstances took advantage of Mrs. Rosendorff's kindness.

Phil Armour, the millionaire pork packer, is said to have offered \$5,000 a foot front for a lot adjoining his Chicago residence.

Charles Miller, a German mechanic, 44 years old, who lived with his wife at 202 Washington street, Jersey City, committed suicide yesterday by shooting himself in the head with a .32 caliber pistol. He had been employed in the sugar house, but had no work for eighteen months.—[N. Y. Press, April 17.]

The house which has been built by Mrs. Edward F. Searles (formerly Mrs. Mark Hopkins) at Great Barrington, Mass., is palatial, and with its stables, etc., is estimated to have cost \$2,500,000. It is built of blue dolomite, quarried in the vicinity; its roof is crowned with imposing towers and massive chimneys, and its inner finishings are of imported marbles and carved oak and other costly woods.

S. O. Carroll, aged forty-five, of whose nationality and family nothing is known, sprang or fell from the seventh-story window of the Garfield lodging house, Nos. 44, 46 and 48 New Bowery, last week. He was picked up unconscious but still living. Nearly every big bone in his body was broken. He was taken to the Oak street police station, where, after an hour, he died without speaking. The cause of the suicide was eloquently told by four pawn tickets found in his pocket: Shoes, 33 cents; umbrella, 50 cents; coat, 53 cents, and handkerchief, 15 cents. All these articles were pawned between April 8 and 10. The last article was pawned five days ago, and he had doubtless tried to live since on the money thus secured.

The German club of New York city will soon have a \$300,000 club house on 59th street near Sixth avenue.

Annie Donan of Lowell, Mass., aged 25, while despondent from lack of employment, jumped from a bridge into the Suffolk canal with suicidal intent on April 19. She was rescued.

#### STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

When the truth is fully made plain, as it shortly will be, that the denial of the natural right of all to the use of land is as grave and serious an injury to humanity, as either chattel slavery or polygamy, radical changes will result in the tenure by which land is held and it will become impossible for a millionaire or a railway company to hold out of use vast reaches of land.—[Kansas Cominner.]

If the government should become owner of the railroads, the next demand would be that they should own the farms, and then Henry George for king.—[Lumberton, N. C., Robesonian.]

In order to occupy a piece of land exclusively, what better insurance could we have than the protection of the community? And to secure this we should compensate the community by a tax.—[Dannebrog, Neb., Sentinel.]

Apropos of the vast crowds trying to get to Oklahoma, we should like to hear of the man who says that the people don't want land; wouldn't take it if they could get it.—[Chicago News.]

What occasions the mad rush for land in Oklahoma? The true answer to this inquiry is that Uncle Sam has given away nearly all his arable acres to corporations. The corporations have plenty of excellent government lands, but they are not giving them away. The people have been robbed of their rightful heritage.—[Philadelphia Record.]

#### The Only Issue That Will Restore the Democratic Party to Power.

From an address by Congressman S. S. Cox of New York.

The tariff issue will restore the democratic party to power and no other. We are recruiting men who come to stay with us on this question. Tariff reform will sooner or later come to stay also.

#### Of Course Not.

Lewiston, Me., Advocate,

Would these people [who are now stampeding to Oklahoma] face the bayonets of the soldiers and run risks of losing their lives in order to be on hand before those new public lands are all taken up if there was plenty of available lands in other localities where they could settle peaceably and quietly?

## MEN AND THINGS.

Mr. John Wanamaker is a truly unfortunate man. So far as worldly wealth goes, indeed, he is comfortably provided for. The wages paid him for his work in the postoffice are quite equal to those earned by skilled American mechanics—indeed, many mechanics are contented with considerably less—and besides his earnings in the postoffice he has an interest in the profits of a retail store in Philadelphia, which must yield him something handsome every year. In a pecuniary sense, therefore, he is, as the profane express it, "well fixed." He carries a heavy insurance on his life, and is also superintendent of a Sunday school, thus ingeniously laying up treasures both on earth and in heaven, to be realized at his decease. To these blessings add a sound digestion and an approving conscience, and the sum total, one would say, must be a happy man.

And yet Mr. Wanamaker is unhappy. Other people are getting him into trouble—doing things that he, from the bottom of his limpid consciousness, abhors, but for which he unfortunately gets blamed, and of which, less unfortunately, and in accordance with nature's law of compensation, he shares the profit. While he was a simple shopkeeper, patriotically encouraging American industry by making cloaks in Berlin, the politicians got him into trouble. Now that he has turned politician himself, the business men are bothering him.

Mr. Wanamaker's latest difficulty has its origin in his name. If he had been called Smith, or Jones, or Robinson, it wouldn't have happened. But Wanamaker is such a peculiar name—very nice, aristocratic, old Dutch family sort of a name, of course, but all the same peculiar,—that it is apt to become identified, in the popular mind, with its most prominent bearer. Whatever any Wanamaker does, people are apt to think the Wanamaker has been and gone and done. *Hinc, a Roman poet puts it, illa lachrymae.* In English, Hence these tears. It is an awful pity.

There is a corporation in Philadelphia called Wanamaker & Brown. It deals in coats, vests and trousers, or, as Philadelphians call them, "pants." Beyond the facts that he was one of its founders, that he still holds some stock in it, and that a man named Wanamaker, who happens, quite fortuitously, to be his brother, is its manager—things which, of course, might have happened to anybody—beyond these simple unimportant facts, Mr. Wanamaker, the Wanamaker, John Wanamaker, has absolutely no interest in, or control over, the corporation mentioned. It is by no means certain, even, that he gets his own coats and vests and "pants" there. He has nothing to do with it at all. And yet, just see what a mess the corporation has got him into.

The corporation has been and gone and issued a circular to the country postmasters, extolling the merits of the Philadelphia style of clothing and specially of the garments made by itself after the Philadelphia fashion, and inviting them, the postmasters, to become agents of it, the corporation, for the sale of coats and other masculine apparel. There is nothing essentially improper in this. The corporation of Wanamaker & Brown has a perfect right to extend its business if it can; and if the country postmasters can reconcile it to their consciences to induce their neighbors to wear clothing made in Philadelphia style, there is no reason why they shouldn't do it. The effect, of course, will be depressing, and the interests of art will suffer, but there is nothing absolutely immoral about it. Only, there is Mr. Wanamaker's unfortunate name. He—that is, John Wanamaker, you understand—happens to be employed in the post office department. It is his duty to appoint country postmasters and see that they attend to their business properly, voting the republican ticket and doing all other things decently and in order. And these postmasters are apt to confuse the Wanamakers with the other Wanamakers, and to imagine, when they get the aforementioned circular from Wanamaker & Brown, that if they don't hump themselves and sell Philadelphia clothing, the Wanamaker will regard them as unfaithful servants, who have buried their talents in the earth, regardless of his right to reap where he has not sown and gather where he has not strawed.

Even this, in itself, would not matter so much. Mr. Wanamaker—John Wanamaker, that is—is a Philadelphia man

himself. Naturally enough he sees no impropriety in the Philadelphia style of clothing, and would rather enjoy its being universally worn. The trouble is that a wicked and unprincipled press have got hold of the Wanamaker & Brown circular and are alleging that merely because the Wanamaker happens to be a stockholder in Wanamaker & Brown, and eke a brother of its manager, therefore he ought to be held responsible for the circular to the country postmasters, and has been prostituting his official position for his own private benefit. And so John Wanamaker sits dolorous in the post office, and in sadness of heart repeats the bitter words of Miles O'Reilly, paraphrased from David's psalm:

Arrah! tear an' ages,  
How the baytheu rages!

and doubtless makes sad application to his own hard lot of many other profane and scriptural quotations. It is painful to see a good man, a self made man, a Philadelphia man, so beaten and annoyed by circumstances over which it is impossible that he should have exercised any control.

It is reported—whether truthfully or not I have no means of judging, save by the fact that the announcement appears in the Sun—that a Chinese official has recently arrived in this country, deputed by his government to examine into our system of criminal punishment and report what features in it, if any, are worthy of adoption in the Central Flower kingdom. The idea is certainly a good one. Whether the story be really true or not, it ought to be true. The Chinese punitive system, like our own, has for its object to make men good, in spite of their natural tendency to be bad; and a study of the remarkable success that has attended our correctional methods cannot fail to impress beneficially the Celestial mind. I don't know whether the envoy reads THE STANDARD or not. I have my doubts about it. The Press and Tribune would naturally be more attractive to him, representing, as they do, ideas with which he is familiar, and principles that find their fullest and most logical expression in his native land. But if he doesn't read THE STANDARD, he ought to; and in the hope that the board of foreign missions will send him a copy, I venture to point out, for his benefit, some of the chief differences between the Chinese penitentiary system and that of the United States. I used to live in China once. And though the Chinamen never found me out sufficiently to put me in jail, still I had a good many chances to see what happened to the fellows who were found out and put in jail. I don't pretend to be an expert in the theory and practice of Chinese criminal law, but I know something about it nevertheless. As for my experience of the American system, a natural modesty restrains me from enlarging on it. The Chinese envoy will perhaps consent to take for granted that I have a speaking acquaintance with the subject.

To make men good. That is the aim of penology in China, as in the United States. In this country it is the community that tries to do the making. In China it is the emperor. In this country the community, composed of men and women to whom lying, stealing, hypocrisy, cruelty, laziness, uncharitableness, intemperance, and other forms of vice are utterly abhorrent, endeavors to extirpate the wickedness it abhors. In China, the emperor, who, as his title of Son of Heaven indicates, is the lineal descendant and mortal incarnation of all the virtues, aims to make his people as good as himself—to imbue them with his own love of truth, his own honesty, his own charity and loving kindness. Both systems rest essentially upon the same foundation. The wise and virtuous father spanking his naughty little boy is the type and justifier of one as of the other.

It is important that his Chinese excellency should understand this. I want him to start right in his investigation. If he doesn't, he'll go all astray in his conclusions, and when he gets back to Pekin and presents his report, the Son of Heaven will make things unpleasant for him. He mustn't think that we Americans are fools enough to imagine that bad men can make themselves good by passing laws against badness. That would be ridiculous. It would be as though, in the sinful game of draw poker, an agreement among the players that a straight shall beat three of a kind, should

be relied on as an assurance that every player would get a straight; whereas, of course, such an agreement simply makes every player try to make the rest think that he has a straight, and so leads to the wickedness of bluffing. Our criminal system is founded on no such nonsense as that. Its aim is not to make men pretend to be good, but to make them really good, as good as — well, as good as we are ourselves, or, it may be more correct to say, as good as you are yourself, and I'm sure nobody could be better than that. I entreat his excellency to fix this idea firmly in his mind before he goes to Blackwell's island, and not let himself be led away by any fool stories about the men and women in the almshouse and the penitentiary being just the same sort of people that we are who send them there.

The real difference between the Chinese and American systems, as his excellency will discover if he looks at the subject from a proper point of view, is in the methods of inflicting punishment. It is in this respect that western civilization is superior to eastern. We don't beat our criminals with sticks—except, of course, in case of a car drivers' strike, when anything is justifiable. We don't crucify them, nor smear them with tallow and use them as candlewicks, nor otherwise offend humanity by our treatment of them. And yet we manage to punish them just as effectually as the Chinese do theirs. More than this, we even contrive in many cases, to inflict the same kind of punishment that the Chinese inflict, without any of those revolting barbarities—his excellency will excuse me if I speak plainly—that disgrace the Chinese criminal code.

For example. One of the most ordinary Chinese punishments is the cangue—a truly horrible affair. The cangue consists of a light wooden platform, about five feet square, made in two pieces, with a round hole in the center. It is applied to the criminal in such fashion that his neck just fills up the hole, leaving his head on one side of the platform and the rest of him on the other. The idea of the machine is to separate the hands from the mouth, so that when the mouth wants to eat, the hands cannot feed it, and the wretched prisoner has to go hungry until some charitable person comes along and puts food into his mouth—and just as often as not the charitable person abuses the prisoner's confidence and puts into his mouth things that are not nice, but very much the contrary. The result is that foreigners, when they see a man wearing a cangue, are shocked, and go away talking about Chinese barbarity.

How different, how superior, how infinitely more refined, is our method. We don't use the cangue, to disgust the world withal, and yet we manage to punish our criminals just as effectually and in just the same way as if we did. We don't fence off a man's hands from his mouth. We just fence off the whole man, hands, mouth and all the rest of him, from the natural opportunities of the earth; and let him play hand to mouth as much as he will, he is just as powerless to feed himself as any inmate of a Chinese jail. James Sillars, the miscreant who was discharged from a Newark factory the other day, and started to walk to Boston hunting for a job—James Sillars was a case in point. He didn't wear a cangue, but he might just as well have worn one, for all his hands could do toward feeding his mouth. And what Chinaman ever played on a cangue bearing prisoner so keen and salutary a joke as was played on Sillars by that fun loving American woman who sent him to the constable's house to beg a cup of coffee, knowing that the constable would arrest and imprison him? You must acknowledge, your excellency, that our methods are ahead of yours. We have the cangue system, without the cangue itself. And the chief advantage of it is, that while visitors to your country abuse you and pity the criminal, our visitors abuse the wearer of the cangue, and pity us for having to put up with him.

Again. The Chinese have a curious punishment that they call the *seaou* something or other—I have forgotten pretty much all my Chinese, but it means the gradual cutting in pieces. They take a man, and tie him up to a city wall, with a placard on him, announcing that anybody who chooses is at liberty to cut off a piece of him. The soldiers—braves, they call themselves, in allusion to their well known magnanimity and courage—the soldiers get a good deal of amusement out of this class of convicts. Two

or three of them will gather round a poor chained wretch, and hack little pieces from him—a fragment from his skin, a little piece from his eyelid, a tiny slice from somewhere else. They stand around and discuss in the victim's hearing where they shall cut him next, and ask his opinion on the subject, and otherwise joke with and at him. And, of course, if it is fly time—well now, you know, your excellency, that sort of thing is revolting to men of western civilization and ideas. We can't bear to hear of it, much less to see it. It gives your country a bad name. It makes people say you're barbarous. For pity's sake, when you get back to Pekin, tell your emperor how much better we do things here in America, and make him understand that by adopting our method he can retain all the essential features of the gradual cutting in pieces, without any of its repulsiveness.

Look at this woman, here in this tenement house—she is undergoing the gradual cutting in pieces, American style, and, as you see, nobody makes any fuss about it. She has to wash and iron clothes for a living, here in this stifling room, with the thermometer at a hundred. That is her baby, moaning over there in the corner. It is dying for want of decent air and nourishment, and she knows it. Her husband will come home presently, drunk, and she knows it. By and by she will take to drink herself, and become a drunken drab. And she knows that too. That's our style of cutting people to pieces gradually. Isn't it as effectual as yours? See this young girl—there, that will do, don't look too closely—she is being cut to pieces, gradually. Look at this tramp, this hideous caricature of humanity, despised, kicked, beaten with policemen's clubs, worried by dogs, worried by charitable organizations, a hissing and a scorn and an abomination to all who see him—look at him, your excellency, and say if our gradual cutting to pieces is less effectual than yours! Go back, oh excellency! go back to your master, and let him know that the people of the west have learned to cut men without knives, and make them smart without a wound. Go back, and tell him, if he really wants to torture people into goodness, to indulge in cruelty without incurring reprobation, to study and adopt the methods of Christian civilization. There are plenty of missionaries in China who can tell him all about it.

T. L. McCREADY.

An Inconsistent Protectionist.  
Memphis Appeal.

We desire to call attention to the inconsistency of Mr. Jay Gould, who, as the largest stockholder in and president of the Pacific mail steamship company, has just sent Capt. Scubury a well known navigator of New York, to Liverpool to take charge of a new steamship named the Pacific, just completed at one of the great shipyards on the Clyde, and sail her to San Francisco, where she is to enter the line so famous in the China as well as the Australian trade. To this there could not be any objection but that the Pacific cannot sail under the American flag. She must fly the British ensign at her peak as a British vessel, registered among the British tonnage. She will be a British ship belonging to an American company.

Mr. Gould is a republican and a protectionist, and has upheld and voted with the statesmen like Secretary Blaine, who have had so much to say about protection for American workingmen, yet finding it to his self-interest he subtilizes himself without any hesitation, pockets his principles for the time being, patronizes the so-called pauper labor of Great Britain, breaks the rule hitherto observed by the Pacific mail steamship company and has this steamer built in a Clyde yard because he could do so at a rate cheaper than prevails in this country and save a few dollars. He thus evades the protection which so much increases the cost of building steamships and so confesses that it may do for others, but it will not do for him when it runs counter to his pocket interest. Protection, he thinks, is a good enough theory to run a campaign or make a canvass on, but it will not do when it comes to building steamships for his Pacific line. Gould's principles are those entirely of dollars and cents. But there is another side to this story. This purchase of the Pacific in Glasgow by Gould is a proof that protection does not protect, and that the time has come when the navigation laws should be repealed, that our citizens may be free to buy ships where they can do so to the best advantage.

Baiting the Protection Idea.

How do the Oklahoma settlers expect to do any profitable farming so far from protected manufactories and the magnificent home market which they afford?—[Chicago Herald.]

The protectionists have made a large mistake. They have neglected to put a tariff on gold and silver. Thus these infant industries, the gold and silver mines, are left unprotected, and the United States is liable to be flooded with gold and silver, the product of pauper labor of Europe, which would of course cause great sorrow and suffering, particularly among the laboring men of this nation.—[Fulton, Ill., Journal.]

## CURRENT THOUGHT.

## Questions That Must Be Answered.

Mr. Clarke's pamphlet is a statement of the case as it stands to-day. He carefully avoids the assumption that the theory of the single tax on land values cannot be disproved. He simply points out that it has not been disproved as yet, and insists that it should be considered. "For my part," he says, "I have no opinion to express on the merits of the whole matter, without further discussion. It is a most serious matter. But on the preliminary question whether George's proposition shall be entertained and considered, I have a clear opinion. I think that it ought to be entertained and considered. The charges made are so grave, and apparently so well supported, and thus far so weakly opposed as to make me think it the duty of every one, who has any responsibility, even the slightest, for the maintenance of the legal institutions which are assailed, to do what he can to bring those institutions to the bar of public opinion, to the end that the charges may be investigated and wrongs, if any are found, corrected."

What Mr. Clarke has done is to present, in singularly lucid form, the arguments for and against the single tax, subjecting them to analysis, and pointing out their strength or weakness, their pertinence or irrelevancy. He finds that the advocates and opponents of the single tax are agreed upon two essential points, viz: That all men are endowed with equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that the true function of government is to secure them in the exercise of these equal rights. It is on questions based upon these postulates that the disputants join issue; the one side assenting and the other denying, that the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness involve an inherent right to land; and that to this inherent right there is no limit except that prescribed by the equal rights of other human beings. "These questions," Mr. Clarke remarks, "involve nothing recondite. Their difficulty, if they have any, lies in their simplicity. Pretty much all that one man can do for another toward solving them is to present them clearly and ask, 'What do you think?'"

Mr. Clarke's analysis of the argument in support of private property in land is very keen. He admits that a piece of land can be as readily and effectually taken possession of as any other material thing. He takes the trouble to point out that an individual, by his labor, can modify the form of land much as he modifies the form of a block of marble when he chisels out a statue. He can drain the land, manure it, clear it of trees, plow it, and bring it into condition for cultivation. All these acts are analogous to the quarrying and chiselling of a block of marble. They are the exertion of human labor upon matter—the only difference being in the quantity of matter appropriated. In neither case does the individual perform any act of creation. He makes neither the marble nor the land. If the mere exertion of labor upon the block of marble confers a property right to the statue, why does not the exertion of labor upon the land confer a property right to the farm? Mr. Clarke explains why it does not.

The right of individual ownership of property of any kind grows out of the natural right of every man to himself. This natural right necessarily involves the right of every man to the exertion of his labor and to the product of that exertion. So far the argument is all in favor of private land ownership. But these correlative rights are necessarily limited by the equal correlative rights of all other men. They must be so, or else the natural rights of some men to themselves must be denied. When a man chisels a statue from a block of marble, he interferes with the natural right of no other man to exert his labor and produce another statue if he wants one. There is plenty more marble—the supply is practically inexhaustible. But to open a quarry and take possession of it does interfere with the equal right of other men to open quarries and take possession of them. The supply of quarries is limited.

The fact that the supply of material things

which are adapted to the satisfaction of human wants is practically unlimited is the sole justification for permitting them to be acquired and held without restriction. If the supply were limited there would have to be restriction. Do we not all concede this in unusual cases when locally or temporarily the supply is short, as in a shipwreck or polar expedition? On the other hand, the fact that the land, being the source of all things that minister to human wants, is strictly limited in quantity, and varies greatly in desirability, is itself a sufficient reason for asserting that it cannot rightfully be appropriated absolutely and in perpetuity.

Mr. Clarke points out that upon the right to land depends the claim upon the value of land. "The argument for the land value tax," he tells us, "is very apt to assume the form, and, if one may judge from current criticism, is quite generally understood to have the form, that because the value of land increases without effort on the part of the land holder as the community grows, therefore the community has earned such value. In that form the argument is fallacious beyond question. The value of land is its relation as to exchange to the other things which men desire. How can such a relation give rise to an obligation to pay money? Chattels fluctuate in value as well as the land, and for similar causes, increase being without merit, as decrease is without fault, on the part of their owner; and for this one need look no farther than to the daily quotations of corporate stocks, though other illustrations without number might be given."

The truth is that a claim upon the value of land can be substantiated only by first successfully impeaching the title of its occupant. Grant that the land is his property, and necessarily he is entitled to it at any particular time; that is, he has a right to exchange it at that time for other things, if he will and if he can, and it is nobody's business whether he receives for it, upon exchange, many other things or few, much money or little; if he actually makes an exchange, no other person, not even the state, as representative of all the rest of the community, can thereby acquire a right to take toll out of what he receives; still less can a right to exact money arise, because he might have made an exchange if he had wished to. But if the land is not his, if others have as good a right to it as he has, and he is suffered to have the exclusive occupancy and use of it, then he ought in justice to make compensation to such others, and the question is, how much?

This is a clear and logical statement of the argument for the single tax. And it is something more. It goes to the root of the whole question of taxation. Mr. Clarke does not, indeed, assert that the state has no right to take toll of the fruits of individual industry for the common good. But it is clear that to take such toll, while leaving in the hands of individuals a value to which every member of the community has an absolutely equal right, is to defeat that principle of equal rights on which society is founded, and which governments are instituted to secure. The justice of the single tax on land values involves the injustice of all other methods of taxation.

Having thus stated the argument from justice, Mr. Clarke goes on to consider the argument from expediency. Granted, that the single tax on land values is just, is it also wise? He sees quite clearly, as no man who has confidence in the harmony of the universe can fail to see, that the question of justice is really the only question of importance. If a thing be just, it must be expedient, or there is a hiatus in the universe. But apart from the mere speculative curiosity that impels men to try to figure out what the effects of any proposed innovation will be, he sees a real use in testing the argument from justice by the argument from expediency. Because a failure of expediency will be very apt to point to some hitherto undiscovered flaw in the argument from justice; or will, at all events, show it to be extremely probable that some such flaw exists. He therefore passes in rapid review the prospective advantages of the single tax system, and considers the current objections to the wisdom of its adoption. He shows that the single tax will destroy speculative values, and throw open unused and unimproved land to all who wish to use it. It will relieve the overcrowding of cities and solve the tenement house problem. It will materially lighten, even if it does not altogether remove, the burdens of taxation upon productive industry. Then, taking up the current objections one by one, he considers each sufficiently to expose its weakness or irrelevance, and finally reaches the conclusion that the ground, so far, of every objection to the single tax has been a simple misunderstanding of the argument in its favor.

"Has every man, as against all other

men, a natural right to land unlimited save by the equal rights of others? Is it the primary function of government to secure to all its people their natural rights, including the right to land? Is government possessed of an inalienable power to regulate at will the use of land in any manner that may be appropriate and adapted to that end? Is the legal institution of private property in land inconsistent with such inalienable power, and with such natural right? Will the action and application to common uses of economic rent secure the right, or approach more nearly to securing it than the present system does?" These, Mr. Clarke assures the Social science association, are the questions that must be understood, considered and argued by those competent to the task before it can be claimed that the theory of the single tax has been refuted. His essay is an earnest and convincing statement of their urgency. It is a much needed piece of work well done.

T. L. MCCREADY.

## The Dakota Farmer's Prayer.

BISMARCK, Dak., April 8.—A young man, who resides in California, writing his mother who lives here, says: You speak of hard times and say that if they are not better this year there will be more discouraged ones. I think that there will be more discouraged ones, because the times will not get much better under present conditions. All the hopes there are for the farmer are in an abundant harvest. But consider what kind of an abundant harvest it must be to help the farmer of Dakota.

It must be a harvest that will give abundance, but it must be niggardly with others. And, as a whole, the crop must be a failure. Then the prayer of the Dakota farmer should be:

"Oh! Lord! bless thy servants, the tillers of the soil of Dakota. Give us rain in abundance, that we may fill our granaries and storehouses with No. 1 hard. But oh Lord! that we may also fill our purses with shekels, send drought, blight, rust and destroying insects to prey upon the crops of the farmers of Russia, Germany, France, India and South America, for as Thou dost bless us all, Thy children, with abundance, Thou dost curse us, for, out of an abundance to all cometh want and ruin to us. Therefore, oh Lord! show us this year thy special favor by deigning to others, that we may be blessed."

A much shorter form of petition to the same effect was that of pater familias:

"Oh Lord! bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife; us four, and no more. Amen!"

It is quite possible that the average Dakota farmer ought to be thankful that there remains to him the poor privilege of exercising his faith in the efficacy of prayer, since his work inures to the benefit of others.

There are many of us Dakotans who look with favor upon Mr. George's single tax theory, but we feel that his ideas can only exist in "theory" while the productive industries of Dakota are confronted with present "conditions," which practically eliminate the elements of "rental value" as applied to land. We have very few landlords in Dakota. It is true our benevolent and kind hearted Uncle extends an invitation to his innocent and confiding "nephews" and "nieces" in the crowded east to possess themselves of a "home" on our boundless prairies "without money and without price." Yes, free homes! No odor of the "church social" about the offer. The social element comes in as an experience later. You get in without paying, whatever it may cost to get out. It is equally true that so far as matters of form are concerned our farmers are landlords, but the "rental values" of their boasted broad acres are absorbed by their benevolent "uncle's" tax gatherers who represent the "protected industries" of the country. Strange as it may seem, Dakota is a land of protectionists, and yet could our republican farmers after having endured the privations and hardships incident to life on the frontier; after having toiled early and late, plowing, sowing, reaping, threshing and garnering a crop of our world renowned cereal, and witnessed the procession of toll gatherers who intervene and clamor for their share in the fruits of their labor, methinks they would conclude that protection was a luxury that they could not well afford, and to the prayer herein quoted they would add, "Oh Lord! protect me from my friends the protectionists."

May the good seed sown by THE STANDARD take deep root in the minds of the citizens of north Dakota and eventuate in the establishment of a pure ballot, free trade and the single tax.

A. D. G.

## Play Those Poor Heirs!

S. Joseph, Mo. Herald.

John D. Jennings, the deceased Chicago millionaire, leaves a fortune of \$3,000,000 in downtown real estate, upon which there are thirty-three ninety-nine year leases on buildings erected by tenants. When the leases expire the buildings revert to his heirs. He left only \$2,000,000 in cash, so his heirs are really dependent upon the rents from these \$3,000,000 worth of store buildings during the next eighty or ninety years—some of the leases having been running ten and fifteen years.

## TO ENGLISH FREE TRADERS.

Henry George Describes the Outlook for Reform in this Country.

The following letter from Henry George was read at the annual meeting and conference of the Financial reform association in London, March 27:

45 UPPER BEDFORD PLACE,  
RUSSELL SQUARE, W. C.  
March 26, 1889.

E. K. Muspratt, President Financial Reform Association—My Dear Sir: I very much regret that an engagement to speak in Wales, made some time ago, will prevent me from being present at the annual meeting of the Financial reform association to be held in this city to-morrow.

Since I took leave of you and other officers of the association in Liverpool in December, I have been to the United States and have traveled over a considerable part of the country. I believe it will much please you to know what was made evident to me, not only by personal observation, but by an extensive correspondence from all parts of the Union, that the cause of free trade is advancing with greater rapidity than ever before. I found the universal conviction among our friends to be that the defeat of Mr. Cleveland for the presidency by a majority of electoral votes will have the effect of radicalising sentiment on this question and of insuring a larger and more effective victory in the next campaign. The work that was done last year in arraigning the stupid and wicked system of protection at the bar of public intelligence and conscience, is bearing fruit now, and everywhere timid tariff reformers are passing into absolute free traders.

As the constitution of the United States now provides that all direct taxes levied by the federal government shall be apportioned among the several states according to population, and as there are some objections to levying taxes in this way, the American single tax men are now engaged in circulating a petition to congress looking for the abolition of this clause, as a means of clearing the way for a demand that the federal revenues now obtained by customs and excise shall be raised by direct taxes upon the value of land. This petition is being extensively signed, and we are finding in it a useful means of educating public sentiment in favor of free trade and the single tax.

When the struggle shall be made among us, not for what we have called "British free trade"—the mere abolition of protective duties—but for that free trade which consists in the complete abolition of all the taxes that hamper the production of wealth in any of its forms, and which will give us, with the rest of the world, that freedom of intercourse which now exists between our several states—I believe it will be a winning one.

My heartiest good wishes are with the Financial reform association, since it represents in this country the principle that I so ardently desire to see accepted in my own—that principle of freedom, that recognition of the "international law of God" which, by insuring peace and extending commerce, and promoting inter-communication, is yet, I trust, destined to weld all the great nations of the English speech into one great brotherhood, and in doing this to pave the way for a fraternization of the whole world.

With best wishes for your success in carrying to full completion the work which Richard Cobden began, I am yours sincerely,

HENRY GEORGE.

## HOW LABOR IS PROTECTED.

The journeymen painters of St. Louis have gone on strike for \$2.50 per day.—[St. Louis New Order.]

The employees of Rathbone, Sard & Co., stove makers of Albany, are standing out against a proposed reduction of ten per centum in wages, and the firm declare that they cannot afford to run the works at present wages.—[Syracuse Herald.]

President John McBride, of the National progressive union of miners and laborers, has issued a circular advising the miners to accept the proposition of the operators of the Ohio and Pittsburg district for mining next year, as follows: Hocking Valley, 62½ cents for the first six months and 67½ cents for the last six months. Pittsburg district, 71½ and 76½ cents.—[Chicago Knights of Labor.]

Last week notice was given at the shops of the Lehigh Valley railroad company to work only five days during the week, and only nine instead of ten hours per day, until further orders. After the announcement of time reduction was made the assembled hundreds, as if by instinct, united in giving "three cheers for Harrison and protection!" In this cutting manner of rebuking the professional protective tariff-shaking demagogues republicans, as well as democrats, united in the "cheers."—[Mauch Chunk Democrat.]

Two thousand miners are on a strike in the Jellico district of Tennessee.—[Exchange.]

## Assisting an Infant Industry.

New York Herald.

Baggage Smasher—Don't you want a nice stout trap for your trunk? Only fifty cents.

Chirpy Traveler—No; reckon not. Trunk's new and strong.

B. S. (later)—Here, Bill, just drop a couple of heavy ones on them hinges and rip one of the handles off with a crowbar. I've got an "infant industry" a sellin' trunk straps, and it's got to have protection.

## THE TRAGEDY OF A TOWN.

A town wiped out! The town of Leola in McPherson county, Dak., was completely destroyed by prairie fires.

Prof. Hamlin Garland in Boston Transcript.

The above was the substance of an Associated Press despatch published on Friday, with some other meagre details. As I read it, I wondered how many people sympathized in the slightest degree with the sorrow which this calamity brought to the struggling settlers in McPherson county. For, as the despatch went on to state, "hundreds of farmers were ruined, and that the bones of burned beasts lay scattered beside the road."

As I assisted in the settlement of McPherson county, and saw the town of Leola located, I know what that fire means to the settlers whose land is burnt bare as a bone. Let me tell the short "Tale of a Town" which rises in my mind at the name of Leola, assuming almost tragic proportions.

In 1882 the rush to Dakota was prodigious beyond precedent. The trains could not carry the people with their goods and stock into the little towns Ordway, Aberdeen and Westport, Brown county. These towns were the terminal points on the railroads from which the settlers debouched to the west. As early as February the flood of land-seekers began to stream out into the counties of Edmunds and McPherson lying adjoining Brown county on the west.

So great had been the rush the previous year that the United States survey had not been able to keep pace with the demand, and in the spring of 1882 "squatting" was resorted to. As no filing could be done, and as the lines of the sections were not defined, the settlers were obliged to run their own lines and build their little huts, each "to hold down his claim" till it came into market.

All through February and March of that year, therefore, teams loaded with men and lumber scurried over the vast level prairie looking for and "locating" claims. When they found a spot of land that suited them, they set a "straddle-bug" to watch it while they returned to the towns (twenty or thirty miles away) for lumber. The straddle-bug, I may say, was three pieces of board nailed together something as soldiers stack arms. This "bug," which could be seen for miles on level prairie, apprised the next eager comer that some other man had squatted before him.

It is interesting to note that, while there was no written law on the matter, these bugs were always respected for the space of thirty days; after that they could be "jumped;" thus showing that law is not law on or off the statute books, but because the people will together on any matter.

Leola was settled in the spring of 1882—a squatter town. Its history has been a pathetic one all these years, and now, with the devastation of fire, its story becomes tragic. It was located as a squatter town in the midst of the unsurveyed land, and twenty-five miles from the nearest railroad, and for a year or two it consisted of two or three small frame buildings.

I can see it now, as it looked to me the last time I looked back upon it. Like a handful of bright yellow pine blocks spilled from the hands of a giant, it lay on the absolutely level sod. Far to the east and north and south stretched the boundless, level, russet plain. Not a tree to be seen, though the eye could range a circle ten to twenty miles in diameter. A dead level of plain, covered with a short russet grass, with here and there a settler's small pine cottage, set like a little sail on the sea-like expanse.

To the west of it rose slowly, almost imperceptibly, a low range of perfectly treeless and bushless hills called the "Couteaux." The grass on these hills was somewhat more abundant in growth, though the surface of the ridges was covered with innumerable boulders, which looked like vast flocks of sheep feeding on the sunny slopes.

From the moment that Leola was settled, to the present day, its citizens have looked yearly—almost daily—for an extension of the railroad. I have not space to detail the high hopes, the absurd propositions, the prodigious plans and the inevitable disappointments which have come to them. Year by year the settlers have strained their eyes across the beautiful prairie, so mocking and pitiless, waiting for the railroad, the magician of the nineteenth century, to bring them something of the comforts and possibly a few of the luxuries of modern life.

But it is has never come, though a few years ago there was a grade actually built from Aberdeen, the ambitious "emporium of Brown country," to Leola and beyond, on its way to Bismarck. Thus far and no farther have the railroad schemes of trusting, indomitable Leola "materialized." Still it has slowly added store to store, cottage to cottage, until quite a little village stood there a week ago in the bright spring sunshine.

But the farmers of that county! Oh, the despairing, toiling, smitten farmers! To them our sympathies should go out, and our material aid, if possible. No eastern man can conceive what those farmers have endured for seven years. Swept by ferocious blizzards in winter and scorched and barren in harvest, the mocking, beautiful prairie has tested the superhuman endurance of the hardiest people in the world.

Each year they have said, "Next year will be a good year, and with a good year we can lift our mortgages." This thought comforted them as they sat day after day and week after week in their frightful huts and braved out the short but terrible winter. Each spring they went forth on their fields and sowed their grain, and watched the sky for rain as it grew toward harvest—only to have the cloudless, splendid, sinister sky smile back at them day after day, day after day, as the wheat rolled its leaves pitifully together, and the heads grew sere and white with empty hulls.

I know of men who have gone mad under the strain, and others who have died strangely. Does anyone wonder at it?

And now comes the demon of fire, sweeping away hay, stock, barns, houses, and all in them—not much, but all they had. All their toil and anguish of waiting, all their deprivation and patient endurance gone for nothing; while on the blackened sod, beside the charred bodies of their faithful animals and the heap of cinders where their homes were, they stand with empty hands. If this is not tragedy, then Hamlet is a comedian.

But how did it happen? Who is to blame?

Dakota is possessed by land speculators, who hold absolutely or by mortgage the larger part of this magnificent territory. Every town in Dakota is girdled by death in the form of land held vacant on speculation. In most districts the settlers are widely scattered, and the plain has the effect even now of growing more grass than grain. Here and there the settler has located and broken a part, but in most cases only a part of his claim. Thus, as you ride through the land, you see with surprise how sparsely it is settled and how general is the dominion of the buffalo and blue-joint grass.

All this is especially true of Edmunds and McPherson counties, and this explains how a town can be "wiped out" by fire, and also how hundreds of farms can be laid waste. I need no reports to tell me the condition of the farmers who have escaped the lip of flame. Already seventy per cent of them are in the hands of the money lender, and their parsimony and their labor in cold and heat go only to enrich the "farm mortgage companies."

Now, down from those low, grassy, treeless hills the fire swept, driven by a strong dry wind. The grass on the vacant land is not tall, but it is thick and matted like hair, and is very dry. Fire will run in it in August. It is the "buffalo grass" which cures early on the stalk, and last August I saw a fire break out and rage dangerously on the "syndicate land" surrounding the strangled town of Ordway.

The sod was then too dry and hard—it might have been frozen too hard in the case of Leola to plow in front of it. Sometimes with a high wind it rushes like swift waves over the sod so fast that only a few furrows can be run before it, and it leaps such petty stops as a wolf would leap a footpath. In the case of Leola it came in on a hot dry whirlwind of great power, and with no time to plow, or back fire, the settlers had only time to save the lives of their families in desperate flight. What a harvest was this!

And this is Dakota, to reach which the needy settler crosses millions of acres of land which our nation gave away to railroads. Across millions more held by speculators, non-resident or living in the cities, and across a whole continent not even "ticked" with the plow, yet westward the settler drives in search of "free land," and when he finds it, it is miles away from the railway, in the midst of a treeless plain, liable to droughts and possessed by the wind and snow in winter and by the wind and sun in summer.

The fault is not in the land and the sky. Settled naturally and gradually, this fertile and in many regards beautiful land would enrich and make happy its settlers. But the universal greed of land speculation flings out on the prairie a thinly spread and inadequate covering of settlers. After ten years of settlement the land is hardly perceptibly scratched by settlement, the sod remains unturned, there is no large increase of verdure, as there would be under proper settlement, and no perceptible increase in the rainfall. The land remains arid and bare, and the glory of modern civilization comes not to the settler, who still sits in many cases in his little claim shanty, wondering when his "good crop" will come and permit him to pay off his mortgage.

The tragedy of Leola is in a sense the tragedy of Dakota, as I know from experience. The "boomers" and the newspapers representing the citizens of the towns who want to sell lots and farms which they have taken on mortgages tell another story. They will continue to do so. But among a large number of the actual farmers of Dakota there is a waiting, waiting, hoping, longing, a toiling and a patient enduring, among the women especially—pathetic alike in hopefulness or its hopelessness. The prairie fires which devastate the farmers of Dakota are not on plowed fields, neither are they on free land which any man could have for the asking; they are upon rich and level lands held for speculation by loan agencies, syndicates, and by private individuals who turn never a furrow on them. This condition of things should be studied carefully, in order that this "Tragedy of a Town" may have the force it has with one who knows the situation and who sees the cat. I hope the reports are exaggerated. I fear they are not, for beyond the Couteaux, out of the reach of the telegraph, are hundreds of settlers in still more melancholy plight.

May Thor, the god of rain, take pity on them.

### He Should Have Stolen a Railroad.

N. Y. Mail and Express.

Frederick Busch, of No. 195 Allen street, stole a mandolin from Mr. A. C. Gildersleeve's apartments at No. 28 West Forty-eighth street on April 3. He pleaded guilty before Judge Martine in Part I of the court of general sessions, and was sentenced to two years and six months in prison.

### SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may:

Akron, O.—Jas H. Angier, 109 Allyn street.

Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J. C. Rosher, 22 Third avenue, or James J. Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.

Alhambra, Mon Ter.—Mrs. Josephine Spahr.

Altoona, Pa.—Joseph Sharp, Jr., secretary Single tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C Ronzee, 924 First avenue.

Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.

Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W. Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.

Anton Chico, N. M.—Lewis T. Granstam.

Ashtabula, Ohio—A. D. Strong.

Atlanta, Ga.—John C. Reed, lawyer, 25 1/2 Marietta street.

Auburn, Me.—H. G. Casey, secretary Single tax club.

Auburn, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H. W. Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.

Augusta, Ga.—Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.

Aven, N. Y.—Homer Sabin.

Balston Spa, N. Y.—Richard Feeney, 63 Milton avenue.

Baltimore, Md.—John W. Jones, 125 N. Bond street; John Salmon, 155 N. Eutaw street; Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 E. Baltimore street.

Bath-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Matthew C. Kirsch.

Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Molina.

Braceville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.

Bradford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.

Bristol, Dak.—W. E. Brokaw.

Binghamton, N. Y.—E. W. Dunton, 33 Maiden lane.

Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 208 Main street, Charlestown; J. R. Roche, 29 Converse avenue, Malden; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain.

Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E. West, M. D., 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.

Burlington, Iowa—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Smith.

Campbellport, Mass.—Wm. A. Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.

Canisteo, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 263.

Canon City, Colo.—Frank F. Blits, M. D.

Canton, O.—S. J. Harmont, M. D., president single tax club.

Cape May City—Wm. Porter, box 57.

Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.

Charles City, Iowa—Irving W. Smith, M. D., office opposite Union house.

Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Wittier, secretary Single tax club, 426 Milwaukee avenue.

Cincinnati, O.—Dr. David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Jones' news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, 298 Vine street.

Clanton, Ala.—O. M. Mastin or Alex G. Dako.

Cleveland, O.—C. W. Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L. Carter, 132 Chestnut street.

Columbus, Ind.—O. W. Bishop, editor *Argus*.

Copus, N. Y.—J. S. Crim.

Cotoe, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.

Columbus, O.—Edward Hyneman, 348 1/2 South High street.

Cornwall, Cal.—Jeff A. Bailey.

Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Chas P. Johnston.

Danbury, Conn.—Sam A. Main, 34 Smith street.

Dayton, O.—W. W. Kile, 33 E. Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 363 Samuel street.

Denver, Colo.—F. H. Monroe.

Des Moines, Iowa—L. J. Katsos, president Single tax club; John W. King, secretary.

Detroit, Mich.—K. Finchart, 45 Waterloo street; J. F. Duncan, 279 Third street, secretary Tax reform association; R. Howe, 834 14th av.

Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. V. Linton.

Dighton, Mass.—A. Cross.

Dunkirk, N. Y.—Francis Lake.

East Cambridge, Mass.—F. J. Harrington, 81 John's Lane.

East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J. K. Rudyard.

East Ridge, N. H.—Edward Jewett.

Elizabeth, N. J.—Benjamin Urner.

Elmira, N. Y.—William Bergman, 713 East Market street.

Englewood, Ill.—W. B. Steers, Evansville, Ind.—Charles G. Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.

Fitchburg, Mass.—D. Terry.

Flint, Michigan, Iowa—F. W. Rockwell.

Gardner, Ill.—T. S. Cummings.

Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Loromer.

Glenview, Mont.—A. H. Sawyer.

Glen Falls, N. Y.—John H. Quinlan.

Gloversville, N. Y.—Wm. C. Wood, M. D.

Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Hinton.

Harrison, Tex.—I. McCollum.

Hartington, Neb.—John H. Felber.

Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur F. Brock.

Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.

Hornellsburg, Ky.—John H. Van Winkle.

Hot Springs, Ark.—W. Albert Chapman.

Hoosick Falls, N. Y.—F. S. Hammond.

Houston, Tex.—H. F. Ring, corporation attorney.

Hutchinson, Kas.—G. Malcom, M. D.

Indianapolis, Ind.—P. Custer, president Single tax league, W. U. Tel Co.; Chas. H. Krause, bookkeeper, Vonnegut hardware store, E Washington street.

Ithaca, N. Y.—C. C. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.

Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hudson county Single tax league, 86 Lee Avenue.

Kansas City, Mo.—Chas. E. Reid, 2,222 Woodland avenue.

Kensington, N. J.—W. D. Quigley.

Keokuk, Iowa—M. McDonald.</

## NEW SOUTH WALES.

## More Light on the Political Situation There.

Information regarding politics in New South Wales comes by mail from a Sydney correspondent. It shows what forces combining with the small element of protectionism gave to the latter the appearance of sudden and extensive growth in country where the great mass of the people have hitherto shown strong bias for free trade sentiments. The correspondent says:

Our elections are now over, and have resulted in a majority for the free traders.

The protectionist party, although in a minority, have not only had the courage but the impudence and audacity to stick to office, and have, while they have the power, placed some nine members in the legislative council, several of them being defeated and rejected candidates for seats in the lower house. Their reign, however, will be short. I do not expect them to live a week. They have somewhat gained in strength since last election, their chief support having come from the Catholic vote. Premier Dibbs, or some of his party, is supposed to have held out promises to get a vote of money passed in their favor under the school act. Our school system here being national, secular and free, the Catholic body object to having their children taught at public schools. They prefer having their own educational establishments, but at the same time wish the government to pay for the cost of running them, or at any rate to give a rebate equal to the amount. Catholics pay to support the public schools.

The squatters [land grabbers] have also lent a hand to the protectionists, as they saw in the success of the free trade programme the likelihood of the adoption of a tax on land values. Hence they deserted their colors, which have been free trade, and hope to get the revenue raised through the customs, that the poor workmen may carry the load instead of themselves.

The next force against freedom was the brewers' interest. They having to pay three pence per gallon excise duty on colonial beer, and wish this tax removed. Hence they join issues with the protectionists—or, rather, restrictionists.

Also many of the farmers have joined in the cry for protection. During the last few years they have suffered from dry seasons; some of them this year having absolutely nothing to sell. Not seeing that land speculation was what injured them at first, some of them have turned to protection, thinking it may bring relief.

And lastly, our coal miners have come to the belief that protection will bring work for their sons and daughters in numerous factories that would be started. They are ignorant of the hardships and bad pay of their fellow workmen in Pennsylvania, United States. About a week ago I saw a check which a coal miner received for a fortnight's work. It amounted to £12 [£58.08]; another had a check for £14 [£67.76]. The hewing price of coal here is 4s. 2d. [\$.11] per ton; selling price at pit 11s. [\$.26.41].

## Getting Stronger in New Zealand.

PICTON, New Zealand, March 21.—It may be necessary to recall to your memory the rebuke administered to the premier, Sir H. Atkinson, at Auckland, where, after he had delivered a speech in favor of a property tax, the meeting passed resolutions politely thanking him for his address but completely repudiating his sentiments and declaring, on the contrary, for the abolition of all taxes on the products of industry and the substitution of a tax on the value of land.

Well, the premier went afterward to Napier, the stronghold of the land monopolists, and there also he came to grief, a resolution condemning his policy being carried by an overwhelming majority.

Our local paper has at last come out as an advocate of our cause and to-morrow we hold a meeting to determine how many men are willing to give practical support to the single tax doctrine.

We have news by cable of Mr. Henry George's arrival in London, the message stating that he met with a "grand ovation." We have recently had a message to the effect that Mr. George would shortly visit Australia. When he does he will receive many grand ovations and accomplish more towards bringing about the adoption of his remedy for social ills with less delay than he can do in England. Here those who intended to feather their nests at the expense of the rest, have swamped the colony and themselves under such a load of debt that they have not a feather to fly with and few pity them.

JOHN GODFREY.

## A Conference to Consider Work for the Fall.

At a conference of the single tax clubs of New York and vicinity held at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club on Sunday, April 21, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, that we do not think it expedient at this time to attempt the organization of a state league, and

Resolved, that we recommend that the clubs of New York city and vicinity issue a call for a state conference of single tax men to consider methods of propaganda and organization early next fall.

EMANUEL M. KLEIN, Sec.

## SINGLE TAX MEETINGS.

MONTREAL, April 20.—There was a large attendance at the first meeting of the Tax reform association in Webster hall last Sunday. The provisional committee who had been appointed to draw up a declaration of principles presented their report, which was thoughtfully considered and discussed, and, after a few changes, finally accepted, the preamble demanding absolute free trade and the abolition of all taxes except one on land. The chief points embodied in the declaration are: Separate assessments to be made for houses and lands; a land tax to replace the present water rate; abolition of the present one-sided lease system; abolition of property qualification for aldermen; manhood suffrage in civic elections; all improvements on land to be exempt, and the city's revenue to be raised by a tax levied equally on used and unused land, which will reduce the quantity of the latter, make more houses and less rent for the tenants and lower taxation for the house owner, and come hard on the land speculator; abolition of exemption on any land for any reason whatever.

T. Howley was elected president, A. W. Short, secretary.

NEFONSET, April 21.—We held our first public meeting here Thursday evening, April 18. It was a well attended meeting, and the audience was attentive and appreciative. Opening a room to the public has greatly stimulated the discussion of the single tax question in this village. Our local paper the Dorchester Beacon, honors us with the statement that we are wrestling with something we don't understand. We shall invite the writer to tell us how he understands it? A very original definition was given by a gentleman who declared it was "some scheme of these foreigners to come to this country and vote without paying a tax."

Q. A. LOTHROP, Secretary.

NEW ORLEANS, April 19.—At the solicitation of J. S. Watters, a number of gentlemen assembled at the rooms of the Maritime association Tuesday, April 16, and organized the Pioneer single tax club of Louisiana. Mr. Watters was elected president by a unanimous vote, and also requested to act as secretary-treasurer until the club becomes fully developed. The members present were very enthusiastic, and are determined to spread the light. Our president was tendered a vote of thanks for his untiring efforts in bringing about the formation of the first single tax club in Louisiana.

JAS. F. MURPHY.

BOSTON, Mass.—"The justice of taking land without compensating the landlords" was discussed Friday evening, April 19, at the meeting in Blatchford hall, Wells memorial building. Joseph Lee made the opening remarks, in which he said that the community was bound to recognize the landlords. Williams Lloyd Garrison took the ground that private ownership in land was wrong. John A. Billings criticised Mr. Lee's remarks. E. M. White, Theodore P. Perkins of Lynn and George Curtis of New Haven also spoke in favor of the single tax.

A general meeting for the discussion of tariff and taxation will be held at the office of the West Roxbury Advertiser, Odd Fellows' block, Jamaica Plain, to-morrow night.

S. T.

## THE SCHOOL HOUSE CAMPAIGN.

The Parkersburg Men Take Another Tramp Back Into the Country and Do Some Good Work.

This school house campaigning is going to be the making of our cause down here. We meet the small farmer "in his lair." The hardest tramp we've had lately was to Pleasant View school house, four country miles out. Rain all the night before hadn't made the clay roads the best, and when, on the ferry, the people heard that we were going to Pleasant View they stepped around just to take a view of us, and when our eyes met, turned quickly away. They didn't want to arouse the lunatics; didn't wish to anger such dangerous fools.

It was rather a novel experience, but we went. Three of us were ex-republicans; two ex-democrats. One of the republicans was an old man, one of the thirteen abolitionists who went up to the polls in a body in the fall of '60 to vote for Lincoln, went in a body for fear of getting thumped as "nigger stealers." One of the ex-democrats was an ex-confederate soldier. It's hardly necessary to say that he led the van in the tramp.

When we got there not a soul was to be seen anywhere near that cold, dark, solitary school house, in that lonesome looking wood-field, and the door was locked, and the rails stood up against the side of the house to keep the shutters closed.

Wheeldon sat gloomily on a stump remarking that "that was the first whip-poor-will Joe heard this season," "did you hear that snipe; when I was a boy," etc., and we all felt left and blue. Four miles through the mud and not a single "native."

Just then somebody said "there comes one man, looking along up that fence," "there's another," then four more, and soon the people came all at once, from every direction at once. It was as if they had sprung from the earth.

Well, we had a good meeting. There was just enough opposition from a republican protectionist, a greenbacker and a tariff-for-revenue democrat to make things interesting. We talked and answered questions for two hours so that when we tramped home it was with light hearts, if even our legs were tired.

W. T. BOECKMAN.

## GATHERING WAY IN CHICAGO.

The Significance of the Recent City Election—Mayor Cregier Said to be Pledged to Advanced Doctrines—Single Tax Topic.

CHICAGO, April 20.—The outlook in this city is highly encouraging. We feel much elated over the recent city election, since it was our people who forced the democrats upon radical grounds and held them to the issue of municipal control of natural monopolies. Mayor Cregier is said to be pledged personally to advanced doctrines regarding public franchises and it is believed that his election by an enormous majority, on a platform upon which I was only too happy to plant myself with both feet, works a distinct gain to the great emancipation cause.

The single tax club continues to meet regularly on Thursday evenings in club room 4 at the Grand Pacific hotel. Interest was never so strong. The attendance was never greater. The increase of membership is flattering indeed and every meeting brings out strangers who have heard of the eat and want to see it. Some of the recent additions to our membership are representative men, able, ready, indefatigable and enthusiastic. Among these are Mr. Ripley and Mr. Irwin, two prominent railway men, who have taken hold of the work with fine discrimination and infectious enthusiasm.

We have begun a movement looking to the establishment of permanent headquarters, which shall be open to single tax people at all hours. No trouble in raising the requisite sum of money is anticipated. Meanwhile, however, meetings will continue to be held at the Grand Pacific hotel. It is earnestly desired that every friend of the cause in Chicago will attend these meetings with his friends, thus stimulating the faithful and broadening the influences that are so steadily making for good.

Mr. C. S. Darrow, the young single tax orator, who so covered himself with glory by his really magnificent speech in the recent memorable tariff reform conference in this city, addressed a large audience last Sunday at the Madison street theater, under the auspices of the Economic conference. His subject was the eight-hour day, but he presented the land question with such tremendous force and so lucidly that the eight-hour day was lost to sight, overshadowed by the immensely greater consideration of man's right to use of the earth. He made the arguments for shorter hours stronger than I ever heard them made before, but he based them firmly on the principle of the single tax.

He stated, among other things, that the ground rents of Chicago, according to the estimate of a leading real estate expert, aggregate no less than \$35,000,000 per year—a right pretty sum to pay for the bare privilege of living here.

Mr. John Z. White will deliver the address before the same body on Sunday evening.

So you see, we are not exactly sleeping on our arms out here by the breezy lake.

WARREN WORTH BAIL V.

## SINGLE TAX NOTES.

VILLE PLATTE, April 13—I have devoted the whole of nearly every Sunday for several months to writing letters to newspapers and friends and addressing tracts and STANDARDS which came into my hands. I could not see that I had made much impression. Lately, however, I had occasion to make a canvass of a portion of this parish (St. Landry) on business. The nature of the business precluded any effort at propaganda, and yet I could see that free trade ideas had made great progress and the land question is receiving a large share of attention. In Washington I found a man who had seen a large sized cat, and from the remarks thrown in by bystanders I received the impression that the town is being inoculated. I was besieged by applicants for "documents," and I am positive that a general interest in economic and social questions has been awakened. I have been writing letters to a newspaper and had a friend to watch the result. I very soon received notice that my articles were "too radical." The editor was all right, but he could not afford to offend advertisers. I let up for a while but soon received notice that the editor, like Oliver Twist, wanted more. He discovered that his subscription list was steadily increasing for the sole reason that his paper contained something besides stereotyped gammon. The ground is ready for the seed. Oh, for the seed!

D. C. DAVID.

BUFFALO, N. Y., April 16.—Knowing there are a large number of single tax men in Buffalo we are desirous of forming a club as soon as possible. We urgently request all such persons to call on or place themselves in communication with us at once.

BUDDENSHAW BROS., 821 Clinton St.

Single tax men in Memphis, Tenn., will hold a meeting on the second Sunday of each month, at 4 p.m. in the parlors of the Duane man hotel, to devise means for spreading the gospel of equal rights.

READING, Pa.—All single tax men in Berks county, Pennsylvania, are invited to correspond with the undersigned with a view to forming a county single tax society.

CHARLES CORKHILL,

15 North Sixth street.

CHICAGO.—Our club expects to have a club room about July that will be open day and evenings, in which we will keep all kinds of single tax literature, as well as all newspapers

that are favorably inclined toward the single tax. The room will be open to the public the same as a public library. T. W. WITTNER.

OAKLAND, Cal.—I had the pleasure of hearing Judge Maguire on the 5th inst. present the subject of the single tax to an Oakland audience. So far as I know, this is the first time the subject has been discussed in our city from the platform. The judge was introduced by Mr. J. P. Irish, acting president of the Star King fraternity, under whose auspices the lecture was given. The lecture was listened to with close attention and heartily applauded, as he very ably explained the justice and expediency of the proposed reform.

D. STUART.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Our infant club is cutting its teeth and is looking around for something to bite on and I am sure it will bite hard when it does get anything in its mouth.

CHARLES E. REED,  
See, Kansas City S. T. Club.

## Manhattan Single Tax Club.

The lecturer announced for last Sunday evening was kept away on account of sickness in his family, and, instead, A. J. Steers read chapter 1, book 6, of "Progress and Poverty," after which a discussion took place. There will be no lecture next Sunday evening. The club has rented the parlors at No. 36 Clinton Place for their headquarters and will occupy them after May 4. Meantime the furniture will be stored.

## A Text for all Thoughtful Men.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Is not this Oklahoma craze a good text for an instructive article? Not alone the manifest proof that good land is getting scarce in these United States—he that runneth (toward Oklahoma or in any other direction) may read that. But showing how, with the "Henry George" theory in operation, all this feverish struggle of live settlers for every homestead, with the necessarily resulting contention, and possibly bloodshed, is all utterly needless and might be avoided. I can see that there is not a man in all that vast caravan who, under the "Henry George" plan, could not find in his own state a better home, nearer markets, nearer civilization, leaving that region to a gradual, natural, healthy growth.

J. L. MCCREERY.

## Personals.

Edwin A. Curley has an article in the Brockton, Mass., Workman, in which he shows the enormous advantages that would accrue to the people by the adoption of the single tax.

In a recent address in Washington, D. C., T. V. Powderly advised his audience to study the single tax question.

## "Penny Wise and Pound Foolish."

How many people purchasing an article take the cheapest, then spout and sead because it does not last. If it is a clothes wringer, it breaks the back of the poor woman who has to use it. The Empire Wringer, made at Auburn, N. Y., by a new arrangement, does not have the crank attached to either roll, and the purchase gear saves more than half the labor and it outwears two ordinary wringers.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

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## QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

## What is Capital?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—I cannot see how wealth in the hands of a mere consumer and continuing in possession of a consumer before, during and after an exchange, can be converted into capital simply by being exchanged. To illustrate, Mr. Work has a coach and a pair of horses. Mr. Vanderbilt has the same. Both keep their coaches for private use. Now, how do they convert these coaches into capital by simply making a swap, for all exchanges are, in the end, simply swapping?

Or, again, suppose an orchard owner instead of shipping all his peaches to market kept one bushel at home for consumption. And suppose an egg producer, the owner of a henry, keeps half a dozen of his eggs for the same purpose. Now, instead of going to the market they make an exchange between themselves, the peach man getting the eggs, the egg man getting the peaches. Now, let us suppose that distance has nothing to do with the case. Suppose they live in the same house and eat at the same table. Would such a swap, across the table, perhaps, change the eggs and peaches into capital? It seems to me that wherever there is capital there is an increase of wealth, for the function of capital is to assist labor in producing wealth. As in the above case there is no increase of wealth, there is no employment of capital.

JOSEPH MCALROY.

Questions of politeness do not enter into the domain of political economy. It would not prove that interest did not exist if a man chose as a personal favor to loan a friend \$500 without interest. The only exchanges that political economy has anything to do with are exchanges made for a profit, that is where both parties to the transaction give something in exchange for something else of more value to them. In such cases, the article of wealth exchanged must be considered as a part of the produce or stock in trade of the exchanger, and it is capital, and continues to be capital until it comes into the hands of the consumer. If then you bring up some case where as a matter of sociability and good manners two individuals make an exchange without any view to profit, the only answer is that such a transaction is not a real "exchange" at all in the economic use of the word, and the transaction being one that does not come under the natural or artificial laws of trade any conclusion founded on it would be worthless.

You seem to have a confused idea as to who the consumer is. The peach grower who raises peaches and afterwards exchanges those peaches for eggs, is not the consumer of the peaches; he is the consumer of the eggs. He is the producer of the peaches and his production consists of two things; first, raising the trees; second plucking, boxing and selling the peaches. The peaches are not produced until they are put into the hands of someone who wants them and is ready to pay for them.

W. B. S.

## Capital and Wages.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—(1) Suppose a lumberman starts out to cut lumber, taking a month's provisions with him, are those provisions capital?

(2) Please define the exact meaning of the term "wages." It puzzles some of us in using the term when applied practically.

INQUIRER.

(1) No; his saws and axes are probably the only capital a lumberman would take with him. Wealth kept by the worker for his own consumption is not capital. See "Progress and Poverty," Book I., chapters 2 and 3.

(2) "Whatever is received as the result or reward of exertion is wages."—Progress and Poverty.

W. B. S.

## Coal Miners' Wages.

BROOKLYN, April 15.—Heretofore I have been led to believe from accounts that I supposed truthful that the wages in the coal mining regions of Pennsylvania were from 60 to 80 cents a day for miners, and have so written and proclaimed. But lately an acquaintance told me that a friend of his who lives there told him that the 60 and 80-cent story was all bosh, and only told for political effect, "for," said he, "the fact is, and everybody who lives there knows it, the miners' wages are \$2.50 to \$3.00 a day." Who is to be believed, and what is the truth? This man said that there were a few laborers who were employed around the mines, who perhaps got only 60 cents a day, but only a few, and in no case were they miners.

S. D. GUION.

It is impossible for me to give you the exact wages paid in the coal mines at present. I could find out, though, in a week. When I left there in January, 1889, "Miners" company wages were quoted at \$10.00 per week. These wages are supposed to be paid to men who are good practical miners, and who are hired by the day. The wages quoted are not paid in all cases, however. Your friend is densely ignorant of the true condition of affairs in the coal fields. I am aware that there are some men, possibly four or five in each colliery, who make from \$2.50 to \$3 per day, but they

are men who do special work requiring extra skill and attended with extra danger—through lack of pure air. They are men engaged in driving air ways, etc., but even they cannot average \$2 per day the year round.

I received a letter on Monday last from a friend of mine, who is an ordinary miner. In it he says "the times are very poor," and that his "wages for the whole month of March were a little over eleven dollars." The miners worked only eleven and one-half days.

I assure you that ninety-five per cent of the men actually engaged in mining coal do not average more than \$30 per month the year round, and those engaged about the breakers do not average \$25 per month. I confess to being one who has told and always will tell the story of wages paid in the coal mines, for what your friend calls political effect. I told it to show how necessary, how imperative it is that men should vote right; but if I told anything but the truth, I wager the other side would soon have contradicted me.

I have in my possession a slip, which I will not hand around, because the name of the man might reach his employers. This slip shows that he is to receive but six dollars a week as "company miner." This is an official permission given by the coal mining firm of Coxe Bros. & Co., to the man to apply his labor to natural opportunities which the law has allowed Coxe Bros. & Co. to monopolize. It simply means that this man is permitted to risk his life in a coal mine, and in return, he agrees to produce, at the lowest calculation, thirty dollars' worth of wealth, out of which Coxe Bros. & Co. will generously hand him six dollars or its equivalent, and put the other twenty-four dollars in their pockets.

W. B. ESTELL.

## Notes.

E. F. Meyer, St. Louis, Mo.—The full rental value tax would destroy the selling value of land, although there would undoubtedly be cases where one man would pay another more than the value of his improvements in order to induce him to give up his title. This would occur only where the buyer had some exceptionally profitable use for the place or some personal reason for wishing to move into that particular neighborhood; or where the existing owner was not anxious to sell and demanded a compensation for the breaking up of his business or his inconvenience in moving.

E. P. Foster, Cincinnati, Ohio.—I would hardly call your statement a discovery. It is more properly proof that you apprehend the nature of the interest question. Very often what is called interest and what many of the opponents of Mr. George's theory of interest thoughtlessly regard as interest is in fact only rent in some manner disguised. As you say, if you want to build but have no capital which you can exchange for a lot you must borrow capital and when you do this the amount you borrow is really the price of a natural opportunity, and the interest you pay is in effect rent. But, when natural opportunities are free, as under the single tax they would be, you would not need to borrow capital for such a purpose. If you borrowed capital then it would not be because you could not get along without it but because you could do better with it than without it. If in conditions of free contract you could do better with it than without it, that would prove that there was a profit due directly to the particular capital you borrowed. And bear in mind that the benefits capital may afford under conditions of free contract are not analogous to the benefits that capital affords when land is monopolized. What makes the interest question complex is the fact that capital in large quantities exchanges readily for land, while labor does not. If you want to get a clear idea of the interest question eliminate the element of exchangeability of capital for land, and you will see that the most bloated capitalist would be as completely at the mercy of the landlord as laborers are now. The capital owner would be compelled to divide his interest with the landlord as a condition of using his capital just as the laborer is compelled to divide his wages. Interest would then fall as wages did, namely with the growth of rent. This is precisely what takes place, although the interchangeability of capital and land and the consequent apparent community of interest between landowners and large capital owners, obscures the fact. Under the single tax there would be no price for the right of access to nature, and therefore when a capital owner and a laborer bargained together, neither would be under compulsion. If the laborer could do better by borrowing capital than by earning it he would borrow; otherwise he would not. If the capital owner could do better by lending his capital than by using it he would lend it; otherwise (except from philanthropic motives) he would not.

L. F. P.

## True.

Ohio State Journal.  
There has never been a time in our history when real statesmanship was more needed than now.

## NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

## To Keep Milk Fresh.

A French chemist has invented a means of freezing milk so that it can be kept unchanged for weeks together, and be transported any distance in a solid state. When thawed it loses none of its natural qualities.

## Water Gas for Illuminating.

A Chicago paper prints an article, in which it is claimed that water gas can be furnished for lighting purposes for 40 cents per thousand feet and 30 cents for fuel. The gas in question has been tested with satisfactory results at Jackson, Mich. Not only is the price much lower than gas by the old process at Jackson, but a large saving in fuel is gained. Pittsburg coal of a high grade is used by the old gas companies, and one ton will yield but 6,000 cubic feet of illuminating gas, while by this method ordinary slack coal can be used, and one ton will yield 40,000 feet. It is claimed for the new gas that it furnishes a steady, soft light of remarkable purity, and is entirely free from danger, as it has a particularly offensive smell, and could be easily detected before filling a room.

## Utilizing the Sewage of Berlin.

The city of Berlin has lately introduced, on a most extensive scale, the experiment of utilizing its sewage by irrigating the fields of the adjacent country. The city, which has grown very rapidly of late years, contains at present 1,500,000 inhabitants. In the outlying districts the cesspool is still in common use; but, we are informed, the whole of the built-up portion of the city, comprising 1,100,000 inhabitants, is thoroughly sewered, and all the waste matters from this portion of its population are conveyed in the sewers to pumping stations conveniently located for the purpose, and from these the waste waters are distributed on the fields to be irrigated. The experiment is attracting great attention from municipal engineers all over Europe, and its operations are being carefully studied. The method of solving the perplexing question of purifying sewage waters, and at the same time utilizing their fertilizing elements for the benefit of agriculture, has been recognized as the ideal method, and many attempts have been made to introduce systems of this description to practice, and in a number of cases with success; but none of these experiments approach in magnitude the Berlin plant, which, should it fully realize the expectations of its projectors, will inaugurate a new era in the history of municipal sanitary engineering, and, it may be added, will mark an advance step in civilization.

The entire subject has lately been fully discussed in the French journal *Le Genie Civil*, from which our contemporary the American Architect and Building News has made an abstract, and from this we present to our readers the following points: According to the account in *Le Genie Civil*, each of the twelve sections into which the drainage system is divided is furnished with a huge cylinder reservoir, into which the crude sewage is pumped. Here it is allowed to settle slightly, and is strained by gratings, passing thence to a well, about ten feet in diameter, from which the comparatively clear liquid is pumped directly into the irrigation pipes. These consist of cast iron mains, with branches of earthenware, most of which are mere open channels. As the street wash is brought in the same sewers as the house drainage, the quantity of liquid to be disposed of is very large, and the ground, which rests on an impervious stratum three or four feet below, is unfavorable to filtration. In the first experiments, one acre of irrigation fields was allotted to 400 inhabitants, but it was soon evident that this was not enough, the land becoming soaked and muddy, and the effluent being imperfectly purified. More land was bought, and an acre set apart for each 300 inhabitants, but this was not sufficient, and the irrigated fields now comprise about 8,000 acres, while 6,000 more remain to be taken into service as the population of the city increases. The liquid is applied to the ground by means of the open channels, which are barred by wooden gates, to change the flow as required. The separate patches formed by the conduits are laid out with ridge and furrow, and all sorts of vegetables are successfully grown, together with flowers, principally roses and violets. Of course, the neighboring city furnishes a market for the products of the fields, which are of excellent quality. In the lowlands, which are devoted to grass, seven crops of hay are secured in a year, and great numbers of cattle are maintained. So far,

there has been no instance of illness of any kind traceable to the sewerage. The air is so fresh that, besides the cadet school, which existed in the neighborhood before the sewerage was laid out, two convalescent hospitals have already been built in the middle of the irrigation fields, and other establishments of the sort are in contemplation. Typhoid fever, which might be expected occasionally, as all the people on and about the irrigated farms drink the effluent water, is unknown; and the underdraining of the fields has diminished the number of cases of intermittent fever, which was once prevalent in certain portions of the territory. Although the system is not self-supporting, the receipts of the farms are nearly a million dollars a year. The work of purification is so thoroughly done, that at one of the stations the effluent water is collected into a pond, in which trout (perhaps the most sensitive of all fish to impurity of the water in which they live) are successfully raised.—[Decorator and Builder.]

## The Land Value Tax is Driving Out the Monopolists.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 9.—Millionaire Baldwin now divides his time between this city and his Santa Anita ranch. He looks a little grayer than he did five years ago, but he seems as vigorous as ever. He still owns about 60,000 acres of the finest land in the San Gabriel valley, and boasts of the most beautiful orange grove in southern California, as well as of the largest and choicest stable of thoroughbreds. During the great boom in land in southern California, Baldwin sold about 5,000 acres at prices ranging from \$500 to \$1,500 an acre for unimproved land. He sold forty acres to Studebaker, the great wagon maker, for \$1,000 an acre. Upon his ranch at Santa Anita grew up several large towns, with fine hotels and costly brick business blocks. Baldwin, however, refused to sell any of the orange groves or vineyards about his pretty chateau on the artificial lake at Santa Anita, and every year adds to the beauty of this great domain.

But two millionaires who own extensive domains in the San Joaquin valley have the craving for land which is only gratified by owning thousands of acres. These are J. B. Haggan, another old California leader of the turf, and Jesse D. Carr. It is estimated that each owns in Kern and Tulare counties 100,000 acres of the choicest lands. For years these two millionaires have carried on great ranches in Kern county that would have delighted the heart of a medieval baron. They have been the virtual rulers of their districts, the owners of all the water supply, the arbiters of all disputes. They have built miles of great irrigating canals, and have experimented with all varieties of crops.

It was largely owing to Haggan that the culture of alfalfa, a strong clover, was developed in Kern county. No less than six crops of alfalfa are cut in one season, provided the land can be periodically soaked with water, and the hay from this clover is the most nutritious known. On it Haggan has yearly fattened thousands of head of fine cattle, while innumerable hogs have been turned on the green fields and have fattened as though fed on corn or the best white oak mast. The increase of settlers, however, has greatly worried these land barons. Their cattle ranges were restricted; they began to have fights over water rights; and, worst of all, the county assessors raised the value of the land so that the taxes became a great burden. So, a few months ago, Haggan and Carr decided to sell about 2,000 acres of their holdings near Bakersfield, the county seat of Kern. The land brought from \$25 to \$150 an acre, much of it being knocked down for less than the value of the alfalfa crop on it. The sale, however, was profitable to the owners, as they acquired the greater part of the tract for the nominal sum of \$2.50 an acre, and they will still derive a large revenue from the sale of water every year. They expect to have another sale next month. Most of the purchasers bought small tracts of from twenty to forty acres, which they will plant in vines or fruit.

## One Way to Reduce a Surplus.

Mauch Chunk Democrat.

At the annual conference in June for the settlement of the wage scale, the representatives of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers will insist on a shutdown of all the mills in the United States under their control from July 1 to September 1, in order that the surplus stock, if any, may be disposed of. The manufacturers claim over production, and their employees fearing an attempt to reduce wages will take this method of testing the sincerity of their employers.

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## SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

A fresh illustration of the close connection between the established Church of England and the tory party and Primrose league is furnished by the recent county election for Oxfordshire. Two laborers in the employment of a Mr. Parrott, voted for the liberal candidate. The vicar, one Reverend Yule, refused the men their annual gratuity of coals, and they have been discharged from their employment. No wonder the agricultural laborers hate the parsons, and are in favor of disestablishment and disendowment.

The London socialists are about to make an experiment in practical socialism. The Social-Co-operative Federation intends to open stores where the hours of labor will be eight daily, and at least trades union wages will be paid. The profits are to be wholly devoted to securing to the workers the full result of their labors, which, in the first instance, will be the eight hours' working day, because business being commenced with the modest capital of £100, it will be necessary somewhat to widen the operation by means of earned money.

The silver wedding gifts to the Princess of Wales from South Australia are exceptionally unique. They consist of a necklace of South Australian gold, set with rubies and Brazilian diamonds. There are twenty-five links, each set with three Australian rubies and four Brazilian diamonds. To complete the set there is a pair of bangles of South Australian gold set with rubies. These are enclosed in a casket three and one-half feet high, of silver, consisting of 2,500 separate parts, and weighing nearly 500 ounces.

Among the prerogatives which ex-King Milan reserved for himself on his abdication from the Servian throne was that of the right of conferring orders or medals on foreigners. On his arrival at Vienna he at once gave an instance of the manner in which he may be expected to make use of his prerogative by decorating the cabdriver whom his ex-majesty designates to employ whenever he comes to Vienna. His once majesty is said to be considerable of a gambler. He is very fond of playing for high stakes, and whether he wins or loses, his temper never seems to alter. He has a gambler's superstition in the relics which he carries about his person when he is about to play. At one time it is a rusty nail, or a piece of rope with which a man had hung himself; at another, odd sleeve links or socks that are not fellows.

Glasgow furnishes an instance of the folly of alienating public land to individuals, which Mr. Saunders might quote in support of his motion at the county council. On October 31, 1787, the Glasgow magistrates feued to Robert Smith a block of 4,834 yards fronting on St. George's square, receiving for it about \$3,000, partly in cash and partly in feu duty. This very block they have had to buy back for the new municipal buildings for over \$800,000 being an increase of more than 260 fold, and the whole of this increase accrued well within the lifetime of the feuar's daughter.

Edward Bulwer Lytton Dickens, the seventh and youngest son of Charles Dickens, has just been elected to the New South Wales parliament on the protectionist ticket.

Ecuador has a social system that is apparently a good deal like Mexico's. A French missionary, who has been traveling there, has made inquiries into the condition of the Indians. He says that, although according to the laws the Indian is a free man, he is, as a matter of fact, bought and sold, bequeathed by will, seized by the creditor in payment of a debt, and is in no way distinguishable from a beast of burden. This state of things, he says, is brought about by the law that permits the Indian to sell himself into slavery when he is unable to satisfy his creditor in any other way. Once a slave, he is rarely able to extricate himself from his servile condition. His wife and children are also slaves. The family is allowed a miserable hut in which to lodge, and a small patch of ground barely sufficient to supply the food necessary to sustain life. The greater part of the Indians of the interior are reduced to this condition, and live a life of the utmost degradation and misery. No doubt the real difficulty is the monopoly of the land by great monopolists as in Mexico.

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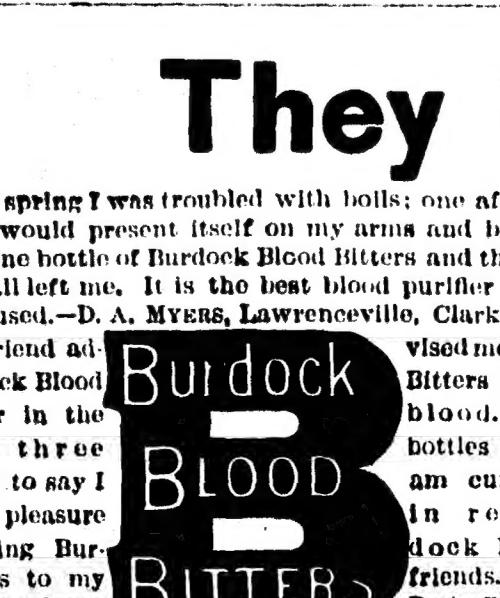
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Who sicken in city slums,  
Where never a flower puts forth her bloom,  
And never a wild bee hums!

The glory of summer flushes full  
On mountain, moor and lea;  
But the human swarms in alley and court  
The glory do not see.

And when the autumn, with ruddy sheaves,  
Brings in the bounteous time,  
The moiling million still grinds and grieves  
In poverty, dirt and crime.

Have they not human lives to live,  
And human souls to save?  
Are they foredoomed to be cradled in want,  
And to lie in a pauper's grave?

Oh! slander no longer the love of God  
With the arch deceiver's lie—  
That the poor were meant to slave on earth,  
And be happy when they die!

No. The poor shall enter his kingdom now,  
For its portals are free and wide,  
Though Mammon and luxury block the path,  
And prejudice leagued with pride.

All beautiful, true and holy things  
The poor with the rich shall share;  
And theirs shall a double portion be  
Who have double of want and care.

For the human life in us all is one,  
And a sweet and a sacred thing;  
And the one great God is the lover of all  
The Father of all and King.

For the broad green earth He made for the  
poor  
As well as the broad blue sky;  
And He means that the poor shall be happy  
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